GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN AGRICULTURE VALUE CHAINS: THE QUEST FOR GENDER EQUALITY, EMPLOYMENT AND WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT IN ARSI ZONE, ETHIOPIA

by

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DECLARATION

I, Beshir Butta Dale, hereby declare that this PhD thesis submission entitled "Gender mainstreaming in agriculture value chains: the quest for gender equality, employment and women's empowerment" is my own work and that to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no materials previously produced or published by another person except where all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references. I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at UNISA for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.

30th November, 2019

Signature

Date

DEDICATION

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the two very important women in my life

- ***My mother Woya Kele'a Tahiro***
- ***My wife Alfiya Jewaro Jifar***

and to my three daughters: Honey, Fedisa and Milkisa

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates gender relations in agricultural value chains by examining gender differentials in terms of gender roles in agricultural production and marketing, gender division of labour within the household, gendered daily and seasonal activities in the household, decision-making power within the household, and access to productive resources and agricultural support services. The study also assessed historical, socio-cultural, and institutional factors constraining gender equality and women's empowerment in agricultural value chains. Employing critical theory, the study used a qualitative research approach, specifically basic classical ethnographic methods - participant observation, field notes, in-depth interviews, semi-structured interviews, key informant interviews, focus group discussions and secondary documents. The study also used a time-use survey and seasonal calendar as its primary source of data. The study revealed that women are generally underrepresented in most profitable nodes of the value chains. However, agricultural value chain interventions have different outcomes for women in female-headed households (FHHs) and women in male-headed households (MHHs). The commercialization of agriculture, particularly in MHHs, has led women to lose control over the commodities they traditionally used to control, as these commodities have fallen into the hands of men. Therefore women in this category are either disempowered or at least not empowered by the value chain interventions. Nevertheless, for women of FHHs, gender mainstreaming in agricultural value chains has contributed to improving gender equality, employment, and women's empowerment by boosting their economic, social, and personal empowerment levels, though they still lag behind the men in many aspects. The participation of women in managing and controlling high-value crops is constrained by unequal power relations within the household and society. This could be explained in terms of limited resources, low level of literacy, shortage of labour and time, limited access to productive inputs, technologies, market information and agricultural extension services, restriction of mobility, and other socio-cultural and institutional barriers.

Key terms: *gender and development, gender equality, women's empowerment, agriculture value chains, female-headed households, male -headeed households, rural women, gender policy, socio-cultural, institutional, feminism*

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie handel oor genderverhoudings in landbouwaardekettings deur genderkenmerke te ondersoek ten opsigte van genderrolle in landbouproduksie en -bemarking, die verdeling van take by die huis op grond van gender, daaglikse en seisoenale werksaamhede tuis volgens gender, besluitnemingsbevoegdheid in die huishouding, en toegang tot produktiewe hulpbronne en landbouhulpdienste. Die studie verreken ook die historiese, sosiaal-kulturele en institusionele faktore wat gendergelykheid en die bemagtiging van vroue in landbouwaardekettings belemmer. Genderverhoudings word deur die lens van die kritiese teorie bekyk. 'n Kwalitatiewe navorsingsbenadering is gevolg en klassieke etnografiese metodes is toegepas, waaronder deelnemerwaarneming, veldaantekeninge, deurtastende en halfgestruktureerde onderhoude, onderhoude met sleutelinformante, fokusgroepbesprekings en sekondêre dokumente. 'n Tydbenuttingsopname en seisoenale kalender was die primêre databronne.

Uit die studie het geblyk dat vroue by die mees winsgewende skakels van die waardeketting grotendeels onderverteenwoordig is. Die uitkomste van landbouwaardekettingintervensies vir vrouehuishoudings (VH) (huishoudings waarin 'n vrou die broodwinner is) verskil van dié vir mannehuishoudings (MH) (huishoudings waarin 'n man die broodwinner is). Weens die kommersialisering van die landboubedryf, in veral MH's, het beheer oor die kommoditeite van vroue se hande in dié van mans oorgegaan. Gevolglik word vroue in hierdie kategorie ontmagtig of ten minste nie deur die waarde van kettingintervensies bemagtig nie. Ofskoon 'n groter genderbewustheid in die landbouwaardeketting gelyke indiensneming en die ekonomiese, maatskaplike en persoonlike bemagtiging van vroue bevorder het, het vroue steeds 'n groot agterstand. Ongelyke magsverhoudings tuis en in die samelewing beperk vroue se bestuur van en beheer oor lonende gewasse. Die redes hiervoor is onder meer beperkte hulpbronne, ongeletterdheid, 'n tekort aan arbeid en tyd, beperkte toegang tot produktiewe insette, tegnologieë, markinligting en landbouverlengingsdienste, beperkte mobiliteit en talle ander sosiaal-kulturele en institusionele struikelblokke.

Sleutelterme: *gender en ontwikkeling, gendergelykheid, vrouebemagtiging, landbouwaardekettings, vrouehuishoudings, mannehuishoudings, plattelandse vroue, genderbeleid, sosiaal-kulturele, institusionele, feminisme*

NGAMAFUPHI

Lolu cwaningo luphenya ubudlelwano kwezobulili kwezemisebenzi yokukhiqiza ngasemkhakheni wezolimo , lokhu kwenziwa ngokuthi kuhlolwe izimpawu ezahlukile kwezobulili, mayelana nezindima ezidlalwa ubulili emkhakheni wezemikhiqizo yezolimo kanye nokuthengiswa kwemikhiqizo, ukwehlukaniswa kwabasebenzi ngokobulili ngaphakathi kwekhaya kanye nokutholakala kwemithombo yokukhiqiza kanye nemisebenzi yokuxhasa ezolimo. Isifundo futhi sihlola izinto ezithinta umlando, inhlalakahle yabantu kwezolimo kanye nezimo/nezinto ezikumaziko ezidala ukungalingani kobulili kanye nokuhlonyiswa ngamandla kwabesimame emisebenzini yezokukhiqiza kwezolimo. Ukusebenzisa umqondo ogxekayo (*critical theory)*, kusetshenziswe indlela yokucwaninga eyencike kwingxoxo, ikakhulukazi izindlela zokuqala ze-ethinogilafi, phecelezi (*basic classical ethnographic method*s) – ukubhekisisa izenzo zabadlalindima, ukuthatha amanothi wokwenzeka ezinkundleni zokusebenza ezingaphandle, ukwenza izinhlolo vo ezijulile, ukwenza izinhlolo vo ezimbaxambili, ukwenza izinhlolovo zomuntu onolwazi olunzulu, izingxoxo zeqembu eliqondiwe kanye nemibhalo yesigaba sesibili. Isaveyi yesikhathi ebizwa nge (*time-use survey)* kanye nekhalenda yenkathi (*seasonal calendar*) zisetshenziswe njengemithombo yokuqala yedatha. Ucwaningo luveze ukuthi abesimame ngokwenjwayelo bamele inani elincane labesimame emikhakheni eminingi yezokukhiqiza, okuyimikhakha engenisa inzuzo eningi. Yize kunjalo, imizamo yokuxhasa imisebenzi yokukhiqiza kwezolimo inemiphumela eyehlukahlukene kwabesimame kumakhaya aphethwe abesimame (FHHs) futhi le mizamo inemiphumela eyehlukahlukene kwabesimame kumakhaya aphethwe ngabesilisa (MHHs). Ukufakwa kwemboni yezolimo kwibhizinisi, ikakhulukazi kwimizi ephathwe ngabesilisa (MHHs), sekuholele ekutheni abesimame balahlekelwe yilawulo kwimithombo yezomnotho ebebejwayele ukuyiphatha, njengoba le mithombo yezomnotho seyiwele ngaphansi kwezandla zabesilisa. Ngakho-ke abesimame kulo mkhakha mhlawumbe bephucwe amandla noma mhlawumbe abahlonyisiwe ngokwanele ngamandla ngamakhono okuxhasa imisebenzi yezokukhiqiza. Yize-kunjalo, ngasohlangothini lwabesimame abaphethe imizi FHHs, ukulinganisa amanani ngokobulili kwimisebenzi yezolimo sekube negalelo ekuthuthukiseni ukulingana ngokobulili, kwezemisebenzi kanye nokuhlomisa ngamandla kwabesimame ngokuxhasa amazinga abo ezomnotho, ukuhlonyiswa kwamazinga abantu kanye nomuntu ngamunye, yize abesimame basahamba emuva kwabesilisa emikhakheni eminingi. Ukubandakanyeka kwabesimame ekuphatheni kanye nasekulawuleni kwezitshalo zecophelo eliphezulu kukhinyabezwa ukungalingani ngamandla ngaphakathi kwekhaya kanye nomphakathi. Lokhu kungachazwa ngokwemithombo yomnotho emincane, ngokwamazinga

aphansi emfundo, ngokusweleka kwabasebenzi kanye nesikhathi, ngokwamathuba amancane okufinyelela izinsiza zokukhiqiza, ngokwezixhobo zobuchwepheshengokuswela ulwazi lwezimakethe kanye nokwandiswa kwemisebenzi yezolimo, ngokwemigomo evimbezela ukuhamba kanye nezinye izihibe ezivimbela inhlalakahle yabantu kwezolimo kanye nezihibe zamaziko.

Amagama asemqoka: *ubulili kanye nentuthuko, ukulingana ngokobulili, ukuhlonyiswa ngamandla kwabesimame, imisebenzi yezokukhiqizwa kwezolimo, amakhaya aphethwe ngabesimame, amakhaya aphethwe ngabesilisa, omame basemakhaya, umgomo wezobulili, inhlalakahle yabantu kwezamasiko, ngokweziko, ukulwela amalungelo abesifazane*

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ADLI	Agricultural Development-led Industrialization
AGP	Agricultural Growth Programme
ARDU	Arsi Rural Development Unit
BOAM	Business Organizations and their Access to Markets
CADU	Chilalo Rural Development Unit
CEDAW	Convention to Eliminate All Form of Discrimination Against Women
CSA	Central Statistical Agency
CSWS	Commission on the Status of Women
DAWN	Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
DFID	Department for International Development
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FHHs	Female headed households
GAD	Gender and Development
GDF	Gender Dimension Framework
GDI	Gender-related Development Index
GDP	Growth Domestic Product
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GII	Gender Inequality Index
GIS	Geographic Information System
GM	Gender Mainstreaming
GTP	Growth and Transformation Plan
GVC	Global Value Chain
HDI	Human Development Index
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IIRR	International Institute of Rural Reconstruction
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monitory Fund

IRD	Integrated Rural Development
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
MHHs	Male Headed Households
MoWA	Ministry of Women Affairs
MoWCYA	Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs
MPP	Minimum Package Project
M4P	Making markets work better for the poor project
NAP-GE	National Action Plan for Gender Equality
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPHDI	Oxford Poverty and Human Development Institute
PADETES	Participatory Demonstration and Training Extension System
PAs	Peasant Associations
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SDPGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SL	Sustainable Livelihood
SLA	Sustainable Livelihood Approach
SNV	Netherland Development Organization
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNFPA	United Nations Funds for Population Activities
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VCD	Value Chain Development
WAD	Women and Development
WADs	Women Affairs Departments
WAO	Women Affairs Office
WAUs	Women Affairs Units
WEE	Women's Economic Empowerment
WID	Women in Development
WTO	World Trade Organisation

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the research entitled "Gender mainstreaming in agricultural value chains: Quest for gender equality employment and women's empowerment." The chapter specifically explains the research by presenting the background of the study, personal reflections and motivations for study, statement of the problem, objectives, research questions, and the scope of the study. The chapter also gives overviews of research study area and context as well as presents the structure of the thesis in subsequent chapters. 1.1 Background of the study

1.1 Background of the study

Ethiopia has claimed to be one of the fastest growing economies in the world (World Bank 2018:2, IMF 2018:4). However, this economic growth claim has been critiqued for overly relying upon single data points from secondary sources and not being fully supported with complete data from different sources (Cochrane & Bekele 2018:16). Despite its historically low levels of income inequality (Argaw 2017:21), its recent economic growth has prompted concerns for equal distribution of the benefits from the rising economy (Hailemariam 2017). The gap between the poor and the rich as well as between men and women has widened (Hailu & Nagaraja 2017:678).

Although Ethiopia has made political efforts toward gender equality and women's rights, there are still many barriers for women to participate in the economy and benefit from it (IMF 2018:5). In Ethiopia, there is a persistent gender gap in terms of benefiting from the emerging economic growth. Evidence shows that the Gender Inequality Index (GII[1]) of Ethiopia was 0.502 in 2017 and 0.499 in 2018 (IMF 2018:5, UNDP 2018:4); this places Ethiopia among the countries with the highest gender disparities.

The participation of women in a formal economy has been low and the majority of Ethiopian women are engaged in the agricultural sector, informal employment sector, and unpaid family work (UN Women 2014:12). In forming the basis for farm labour, rural women in Ethiopia make significant contributions to the agricultural sector (Abebe Kifle & De Groote 2016:4, UN Women 2014:12),

[1] "GII captures gender inequality in health (maternal mortality ratio and adolescent fertility rate), empowerment (gap in secondary education and share of parliamentary seats) and economic participation (gap in labour force participation rates)" (IMF 2016:5). GII value ranges from 0, in which there is no gender disparity – men and women are equal – and to 1, in which either men or women fare as poorly as possible in all measured dimensions (UNDP 2018)

which is the main source of livelihood for the majority of Ethiopians and accounts for 80% of employment, 46% of GDP contribution, and 70% of export earnings (Aguilar et al , 2015:334).

In Ethiopia, of the total 12 million smallholder farm households, 25% are headed by women who are responsible for undertaking the entire farming activities and all the decisions concerning farm operations (FAO 2011:32). Although there is a general tendency of obscurity and inadequate recognition of their roles, the contributions of women in agriculture are critical even in male-headed farm households. Women in Ethiopia are "the major major contributors to the agricultural workforce, either as family members or in their own right as women heading households"(Aregu, Paskur & Bishop-Sambrook 2011:1). Therefore, women make nearly half of the total workforce in the agricultural sector (Beley 2016:2).

Studies show that the majority of women in Ethiopia make huge labour contributions in most agricultural activities such as planting, weeding, harvesting, processing, storage, caring for animals, transportation, and marketing (Abebe, Kifle & De Groote 2016:5, Belay 2016:3). In most cases, women do these activities as part of unpaid labour contributions to the family. In addition to their contributions in agriculture, in most Ethiopian traditions, women are almost exclusively responsible for household, reproductive, and community roles that require them to work from dawn to dusk (Kumar & Quisumbing 2014:408, Moser 1993:27). Contrary to men, women in Ethiopia spend 10-12 hours a day on work and they have little time for leisure or socialization (Aregu et al 2011:3). Therefore in Ethiopian farm households, women play vital roles in the production, processing, and marketing of agriculture and livestock products.

However, in most cases, women in Ethiopia are in a distinct disadvantaged position that persistently restrains them from increasing their productivity and improving their market access (Abebe, Kifle & De Groote 2016:8). Previous studies have documented that women in Ethiopia have less access to and control over resources, technologies, and other agricultural support services than men. As Aregu et al (2011) and Kumar and Quisumbing (2014) noted that women in Ethiopia have less access to land, productive inputs, modern agricultural technologies, training, and financial services that are critically important for agricultural productivity.

This limited access to resources, technologies, and services in turn affects their ability to respond to market signals. Compared with men, women farmers are less educated, have limited family labour, control fewer acreage of farmland, and have a lower capacity to participate in cultivating rented land. Consequently, they are engaged less in the production of commercial and high-value crops and even if they do, they take the least valued part of the value chains (Kasa, Abate, Warner, & Kieran 2015:7).

Generally it was estimated that in Ethiopia, men-managed farms have an overall productivity advantage of 23.4% over women-managed farms (Aguilar et al 2015:312).

In Ethiopia, the idea of promoting pro-poor value chain development began in 2003 through the Business Organisations and their Access to Markets (BOAM) programme, initiated by SNV Netherlands Development Organization in the context when price failure followed two years of successive good harvests in the country (Greiling, Hayesso, Neefjes, & Greijn 2012:54). The aim was to formulate a productive market that worked for smallholder producers. Later, gender-sensitive value chain development was introduced. The later idea was found to be more important because gender equality could make a value chain more efficient and profitable by effectively making use of the roles women play and their contributions in farm business (Senders, Lentink, Vanderschaeghe, & Terrillon 2014:3).

Despite some organizations and individuals such as UNDP (2015), Ministry of Women's Affairs (2006), and Geberesilase, Alamirew, and Yimmer (2012) presenting Ethiopia as one of the progressive and conducive policy environments for women's rights, the realities show that there is a huge gap between what has been put on paper as rhetoric and what is actually practiced in reality. Little effort was made to assert the implementation of seemingly progressive policies. Even the available legislative measures and policies related to women's issues are more of a symbolic instrument and used as political decorations (Biseswar 2008:408).

Moreover, the interpretation and manipulation of legislative measures and policies on land tenure, employment, and inheritance of family properties are also influenced by the patriarchal, traditional, and religious basis of the society. Women, particularly in rural areas of Ethiopia, face different constraints than men in many aspects including access to basic economic resources, productive inputs, and market; hence, their ability to secure their own livelihoods is limited. Consequently, rural women are more vulnerable to poverty than men due to the limited economic opportunity they have. Their lower level of educational attainment and the burden they shoulder in domestic activities are also sources of vulnerability to rural women (Osti, Van Land, Magwegwe, Peereboom, Van Oord, & Dusart 2015:12).

Arsi is one of the patriarchal societies in Ethiopia. Women often take subordinate positions through different socialization processes that determine the gender roles. In most cases, men take the status of head of household, where most of the decisions about the household and control over resources are made. In contrast, women take on the domestic reproductive roles with less authority over resource control and decision making.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Although women in Ethiopia have full right of access to education and employment, these rights have been constrained by patriarchal ideology, limited feminist advocacy for rights, and lack of clear vision on women's emancipations. Therefore, even educated women don't take proactive roles in women's emancipation due to the lower level of exercising their agency (Biseswar 2008:411).

All development interventions, including agricultural value chain development, aim to enhance the wellbeing of rural people. The inquiry on how best this aim was achieved and for whom, are usually the points of interests for the development researchers to address.

Agriculture is a labour-intensive economic sector; it creates good employment opportunities for the majority of rural populations, particularly less educated rural women whose livelihoods entirely depend on this sector. However, contrary to their significant labour contribution to the sector, women usually take the lower position of the workforce in agriculture which is characterized by lower remuneration and less protection from the labour legislation. Most women in rural Ethiopia engage in small-scale, informal, and self-employed occupations; therefore they are prone to decent work deficits (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia 2010).

In developing countries where the majority of the rural population relies on agriculture as the main source of livelihoods, inclusive growth can only be achieved through ensuring equitable access to and/or control over productive resources and decent work for both male and female farmers (Kasa et al 2015:1). Despite government organizations and donor agencies advocating gender mainstreaming policies in agriculture, integrating gender analysis in most current agriculture value chain development is the missing part (Mayoux & Mackie 2007:5). In Ethiopia, the situation is no different.

In Ethiopia, the value chain approach is one of the strategies promoted by different organizations government organizations and non-government organizations working towards increased agricultural production and productivity and raising household income through participation in high-value crop production and marketing. Value chain analysis is an appropriate intervention in enhancing local competence of pro-poor growth and improving the situations of currently marginalized actors in the chain. Despite the contribution of women in agriculture as head of the household and household member being so high, they often receive minimal backing in most agricultural development support programmes. Although women in Ethiopia constitute 45% of

labour force contributions in the agricultural sector, they represent less than 20% of agricultural cooperatives and therefore have less access to input supply and market than men (USAID 2015:139).

Though most agricultural value chain development programmes have gender component as cross-cutting issues; women's engagement in value chain is constrained by their limited knowledge and skills, low access to production inputs, sizable land, extension services, finance and market information, and socio-cultural factors. Studies on gender aspects of market-based agriculture are limited and most of the studies conducted so far in agricultural value chain analyses such as Habte, Legesse, Haji & Jeleta (2016), Gemede (2016), and Afrint (2003) were not gender based. It was reported that in Ethiopia, the effects of the promotion of market-based innovations and practices and supported improved service provisions on gendered consequences were overlooked (Aregu et al 2014:1). The pro-poor value chain development programme is a relatively new concept and it has not yet been well studied specifically from a gender perspective.

Statistics from an agricultural sample survey revealed that women's use of credit services, improved seeds, and chemical fertilizer had reached 15 percent, 11 percent, and 48 percent respectively from almost zero compared to 21 percent, 16 percent, and 58 percent, respectively, for men (Kasa et al 2015:9). The authors here claimed that in Ethiopia, the participation of women in the agricultural sector has increased. However, it is not well known to what extent their engagement in agriculture has contributed to women's empowerment and what agency rural women have to negotiate and renegotiate their position in agricultural development and gender relations. In Ethiopian gender studies, such as the work of Ahmed, Angeli, Biru, and Salvini (2001), Aregu et al (2011) and Kasa et al (2015) were mainly quantitative in their research, using data derived from the national census. Therefore they do not give full insight into the story on cultural phenomena and the experiences of women and men in agriculture. Baden (2014) argued that although quantitative measures are useful in providing a benchmark for gender studies, context-specific understanding and complex phenomena can be captured more through qualitative measures.

There is also limited empirical evidence on intra-household gender analysis due to lack of sex-disaggregated data. Consequently the gender differences on the extent of men's and women's participation in agriculture remains understudied (Kasa et al 2015:1). Few studies have been conducted on the role of gender in emerging agricultural value chain in Ethiopia in general and in the Arsi Administrative Zone in particular. This study was designed to contribute to this gap.

Moreover, most agriculture-related gender studies such as Aguilar et al (2015), Aregu et al (2010), Ahmed et al (2001) are biased in Ethiopia to the head of the household in which the effect of

any development interventions are measured from the head of the household perspective. Such studies also neglected the situations of women of male-headed households (MHHs).

Women in MHHs such as the wife of the male head of household, female children, and other women who are the main contributors of the household labour in agriculture are usually neglected in gender studies in Ethiopia. For instance, the country's agricultural development framework indicates that, gender mainstreaming is considered as cross-cutting issues that target those women who are heads of the household which accounts for 25 % of the smallholder farmers (FAO 2011:32). However, the mainstreaming of gender in agricultural development was not planned for other women who are not head of the household but relying on agriculture as their main source of livelihoods. The promotion of productive rural employment and decent work in agriculture will not be successful without mainstreaming of gender and empowering women at the intra-household level.

1.3 Motivation and personal reflections

As the child of a widow who single-handedly raised eight children and made a living of her own, I am passionate about investigating and unveiling the gender-based inequalities that women have experienced in general and as head of the household in particular. As a man in my early forties with some experiences of closely working with farmers on rural development issues and academic institutions, the subject of inequality in humanity in general and gender-based inequality in particular usually piques my research interest. My own understanding of how persisting gender inequality affects the livelihood of rural women has been shaped not only by my experience of working in rural development and the academic training I have acquired, but also by my personal family background.

Since I have encountered the working world as a rural development expert, I have realised that the notion of gender equality in rural areas is not taken well and rural women always take subordinate positions. Gender always plays a fundamental and sometimes invisible role in all walks of life. The study notes the contradiction between policy rhetoric of promoting gender equality and emancipation of women and the reality women are experiencing on the ground.

I am motivated to do this research based on the desire to contribute to sustainable human development in Ethiopia through ensuring gender equality and women's empowerment. This project goes beyond theorizing, as is commonly done in social science disciplines, to the proposition of practical implementation. In the field of development studies, there are various specializations which include anthropology and development, sociology of development, politics and development, development economics, ecology, and environment—all of which oblige the researcher to take multidisciplinary approach when needed. Analysing gender equality and women's empowerment in

agricultural value chains will require dealing with the disciplines of developmental economics, political economy, and sociology (rural sociology). Though this study will inevitably touch on the multidisciplinary nature of development studies, it mainly focuses on developmental rural sociology. Within this disciplinary boundary, the discourse of development theory and gender combination will be employed in the study.

1.4 Rationale and significance of the study

The nexus between gender and the agriculture value chain is a relatively new topic in academia. This study will contribute to the broader body of knowledge in the field through unveiling available theories on gender and value chain relations and analysing the empirical findings. Conducting gender analysis in the value chain is important to address women's needs, which are often overlooked in value chain upgrading strategies.

Gender-sensitive value chain development in agriculture is very important in many ways. Gender equality could make a value chain more efficient and profitable by effectively making use of the roles women play and the business opportunities they have. From the social justice perspective, the promotion of gender equality in a value chain could ensure that men and women equally benefit from the development interventions. Here gender equality is a key goal in itself. Poverty alleviation and food security cannot be achieved without the participation of women given the large representation of women among the poor (Mayoux & Mackie 2007, Senders et al 2014).

Studies conducted by Gizaw, Nigatu, Wale, and Ayele (2014) Mayoux and Mackie (2007), and Abitew, Emana, Ketema, Motimba, and Yousuf (2015) show that, so far in Ethiopia, most previous agriculture value chain analysis lacks gender-specific opportunities and limitations faced by male and female actors in the chain. These studies, except Mayoux and Mackie's work, used quantitative approaches to analyse gender-based constraints of their respective value chains. So far, scholars have studied gender issues on access to education, training, health services, media, and rural development. However, the extent to which changes in roles and economic occupations have contributed to women's empowerment and how women experience changes in an agrarian economy, particularly in emerging agricultural value chains, have not yet been well captured. This study aims to contribute to the knowledge gap in this regard.

As Mayoux and Mackie (2007:6) noted, most value chain analyses focused on how a given enterprise overcomes difficulties to enter the market and why the poor are failing to benefit from global value chain opportunities. In line with this proposition, the rationale for undertaking gender

analysis in the value chain is that women might be negatively affected by any value chain upgrading strategies if their gender needs and constraints are not identified and addressed, as general interventions could ignore women's situations.

This study aims to explore the role of gender in the agricultural value chains, and the extent of gender differences in access to ownership of and control over the benefits derived from the value chain. The study also aims to shed light on the importance of less visible areas of a value chain such as the qualitative nature of individual roles: time use, the type of activities women and men are engaged in, and the power of making decisions. This study also aims to observe the extent to which gender mainstreaming in agricultural value chains is practically implemented. More specifically, the study aims to investigate gender relations in the agriculture value chain by interrogating how gender inequality, employment and women's empowerment are addressed in the agriculture value chain in Ethiopia. In doing this the study will make knowledge contributions, in the areas of gender equality, women's empowerment, and gender-based agriculture value chain development in Ethiopia.

1.5 Research objectives and research questions

The main objective of this study is to analyse the gender differentials in agriculture value chains by examining the gender gaps in terms of access to resources and productive inputs and support services, gender relations, employment, decent work, and women's empowerment, and the extent to which women are benefiting from the value chains.

By examining gender relations, the study aims to achieve the following specific objectives.

1. Assess the gender inequalities of access to resources, productive inputs, agricultural support services, and decent work in agriculture value chain development;
2. Explore the theoretical and empirical dimensions of gender perspectives in the value chain development and analysis; and thereby assess why there is a gender differential in dominating a particular value chain node;
3. Examine the importance of women's empowerment in agriculture value chain development and reveal the extent to which participation in agriculture value chain contributes to the empowerment of rural women;
4. Describe socio-cultural, institutional and economic factors that influence men's and women's involvement in agriculture value chain and how these factors contribute to gender inequalities;
5. Indicate policy implications and give appropriate recommendations accordingly.

To effectively address these objectives the research must answer the following **research questions:**

1. To what extent is gender mainstreaming in the agricultural value chain practically applied and to what extent are women benefiting from gender mainstreaming?
2. How are gender relations reflected across agricultural value chain nodes in terms of gender equality, access to productive employment, and decent work?
3. How does women's involvement in agricultural development programmes, such as value chain, contributes to the empowerment of women?
4. What are the institutional and structural constraints to gender equity and women's participation in the agricultural value chain and how do they constrain women's agency and form their attitude towards their emancipation?

1.6 Overview of research area and context

The research will be conducted in rural areas of Ethiopia in the Oromiya Regional State specifically in Arsi Zone. Ethiopia has a total of 1.25 million square kilometres area of land that comprises a central highland mass surrounded by lowlands, and this makes Ethiopia the seventh largest country in Africa (Ahmed, Angeli, Biru, & Salvini 2001:3). According to the latest UN world population review, the Ethiopian population is estimated to be 104.3 million, of which women make up 50%. Ethiopia is the second most populous country in Africa after Nigeria (World Population Review 2019). Of the total population, 80% are still living in rural areas. Like many other African countries, Ethiopia has diverse cultural and ethnic groups with 83 languages and about 200 dialects that can be categorized into four language families: Semitic, Cushitic, Omotic, and Nilo-Saharan (Ahmed et al 2001, FDRE 2017). Ethiopia can be described as a country with a varied and contested history in relation to ethnicity and language with no dominance of European colonial languages, contrary to the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa (Smith 2013:9).

The economy of Ethiopia is highly dependent on agriculture, which contributes 80% of employment and 46% of GDP. The agricultural sector relies heavily on smallholder production that uses low levels of technology (Aguiler et al 2014:311). In addition to the production constraints, smallholder farmers suffer from a lack of access to rewarding markets. In Ethiopia, the agricultural marketing system is characterized by the informal and unregulated market system which is constrained by weak market linkages, lack of proper institutions, and the absence of infrastructure and market outlets (Alemu, Abreha, & Teklu 2011:15).

Ethiopia is a deeply hierarchical and traditional society where the dominance and privilege of men over women is well accepted by the authority and power created at the family and community levels (Smith 2013:12). In Ethiopian society, there is a prevalence of unfair gender relations that can be reflected in many ways. The World Bank (2017) national estimate reveals that 25% of the female labour force is unemployed, while 11% of the male labour force is unemployed. Unemployment for female with basic education has reached about 30 % while that of male is about 12% (World Bank 2017). World Bank data in 2018 suggested that overall women contribute 64% of family workers performing day-to-day activities within the households while men contribute less than 35% of family workers. Hence employment in waged and salaried works is skewed in favour of males (World Bank 2018).

In Ethiopia, women are responsible for caregiving and unpaid community activities and girls spend more time than boys in unpaid domestic work. As a result of this, they have less time than men to effectively attend to their education, to consult media, or participate in leisure activities. Moreover, the limitations on women's time have prevented them from participating in wage employment, informed decision making, and acquiring innovative knowledge. Consequently, they are mostly engaged in vulnerable employment in the informal sector, and they are highly affected by unemployment, more frequently than men. Furthermore, they are deliberately excluded from being employed in jobs traditionally associated with masculinity. Consequently, women are highly overrepresented in informal and low-wage work and they have extremely lower access to media and a high incidence of marriage at a younger age (UNFPA 2008, Ostebo 2016). Despite the Government of Ethiopia putting many gender reforming policies in place since 1993, the situations of particularly rural women have not been improved well.

Gender roles can be seen both at the household level where the roles and responsibilities of men and women within the household can be assessed, and between male- and female-headed households (Asefaw, Lemenih, Kasa & Ewunetu 2013:2). Despite the fact that in Ethiopia women are major contributors to the agricultural workforce, either as family members or in their own right as female-headed households, constraints such as economic and cultural norms and practices continue to impede their contribution to overcome household food insecurity and thus affects the commercialization of the agricultural sector (Aregu et al 2011:7). Gender-based roles, which are socially constructed are accepted as the norm, put women in a disadvantaged position. The role assigned to each is well socialized and accepted by both men and women and they continue to live with this. The socially constructed norms have created a systemic denial of access to opportunities

and resources for women, which negatively affects their self-esteem and confidence, in turn restraining women from participation, competition, and engagement in formal paid employment (Belay 2016:4).

In Ethiopia, the contribution of women and children to agricultural production and household survival is much higher than what is usually reported in official statistics; conversely, the contribution of men's labour in housework was found to be low (Aredo 1995).

Typical of women in third world countries, women in Ethiopia have a triple burden of work in child-rearing, maintaining the home, and food production (Moser 1993:27). In addition to their reproductive and community roles, rural women in Ethiopia play a significant role in crop and livestock production, with limited access to productive resources (land, capital, agricultural inputs, and credit and extension services). Their contribution to production has not been well recognized and valued (Belay 2016:8). In most societies in Ethiopia, men are well recognized as breadwinner and head of the family, with the responsibility to make all the decisions concerning the family, including issues that affect women's and girl's lives. Ethiopian women own less property and assets than men (Beyene 2015:10-11). For instance, in rural areas, 78% of farmland is owned by men, while women's share of farmland ownership is 22% (Central Statistical Agency 2012).

Although it is generally true that the level of contribution for women in agriculture is high, as Belay (2016:2-3) suggested, it is important to note that the role of women in agriculture and livestock production varies from place to place, as Ethiopia constitutes a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society with different gender roles in agriculture.

Unlike many Sub-Saharan African and Asian countries where a gender division of labour is mainly determined by the opportunity cost of the labour in the markets, in the context of the mixed farming systems of Ethiopian agriculture, the gender division of labour is mainly determined by cropping patterns, socio-cultural norms, types of farmer's organization, and the type of farm technology in use (Aredo 1995). Aregu et al (2011:8) noted that in Ethiopia, gender-based divisions of tasks vary according to the type of enterprise, the farming system, the technology used and the wealth status of the household.

In view of time and resource limitation, this research couldn't be carried out in a way that represents the whole context of Ethiopia. It is therefore a wise decision to make a conscious effort to limit the scope of the research in both content and geography. Concerning the geographical boundary, this thesis will be situated in the southeast part of Ethiopia, specifically in the Arsi zone. The Arsi zone is one of the provinces of Oromia National Regional State found in the central part of the region with a total area of 23881 kilometres square; it accounts for 7% of the total areas of the Oromia National

Regional State (National Regional Government of Oromia, Bureau of Finance and Economic Development 2011:2). The capital of the Arsi zone, Asella, is located 175 kilometers away from the national capital, Addis Ababa, on the main road through Adama to Bale-Robe.

The main reasons why Arsi zone was selected for this study are, firstly, the Arsi zone is one of the productive zones of agricultural production in the country known for its grains, vegetables, livestock and emerging dairy production on which the livelihoods of both men and women depend on. In Arsi there are districts such as Tiyo, Lode Hetosa, Lemu Bilbilo and Digalu Tijo known for vegetable and dairy production where the role of women is found to be high and visible for analysis. Second, Arsi is generally known as a patriarchal society and with the conjunction of socialization of Islamic practices (Ostebo 2016) which might have implications on gender equality and women's empowerment. Third, farmers in the Arsi zone are known to use relatively modern agricultural technologies and practices compared to other farmers in the country. However, the situations for women farmers have not been changed and they have remained out of the realm of the progress. Therefore, working as an expert in rural development, the auther realised that the notion of gender equality in agricultural development support programs is not practically implemented. Fourth, since the researcher is well familiar with the selected area, data collection including ethnography, critical observations, semi-structured interviews, and focus group discussions can be efficiently conducted.

1.7 Scope of the study

The primary aim of this research project is to examine how agricultural development programmes, specifically the development of value chain programmes, address gender equalities and women's empowerment through mainstreaming of gender at all levels of value chains with a particular focus on the gender analysis in vegetable and dairy value chains. A key consideration is to examine individual and group perceptions and attitudes and identifying socio-economic, cultural, and institutional factors that have either constraining or enhancing effects on achieving gender equality and women's empowerment in rural settings in Ethiopia.

From a theoretical framework perspective, the study largely takes the position of gender and development discourse and relevant third world feminist theories. The main themes reviewed in this research include gender and development theories, concepts, strategies, and critiques of gender mainstreaming, gender equality and women's empowerment, gender, employment, decent work in agricultural value chains, and sustainable development frameworks.

Given the paradigm chosen for the study is critical theory and the methodological focus is on the qualitative inquiry of gender relations, it has not widely employed other quantitative methods of

value chain analysis traditionally used in management and economic sciences. However, the study considers value chain analysis to be relevant to gender mainstreaming. Geographically the study has limited itself in Arsi administrative Zone located in the South-Eastern part Ethiopia specifically in examining gender equality and women's empowerment in vegetable and dairy value chains. Arsi was selected for the availability of agricultural value chains of the two selected commoditities and its proximity and accessibility for effectively conducting the intended research. Vegetables and dairy commodities were selected purposively because the engagement of women in vegetable and dairy production and marketing is higher than in any other crop. This makes possible the assessment of gender relations in value chains.

1.8 The limitations of the study

The main limitation of this study was the lack of gender-disaggregated data on agriculture value chain. This problem was more critical when it comes to analyse the participation of women of male-headed households (MHHs) in agriculture value chain. This was because this group of women are not targeted in most of the agricultural and rural development programs and hence, most development agencies do not keep data concerning this group of women. In addressing this challenge, the primary data were used for this group. Another important limitation of the study was limited availability of academic-based source references on gender-related value chain analysis of Ethiopia. To overcome this challenge, the few available sources on Ethiopia were intensively used alongside the relevant similar sources particularly on developing countries' contexts. The shortage of time and resources has limited the geographical coverage of this study to the Arsi zone. The familiarity of the researcher with the study area and the good connections already built with the development agents and officials in the area have largely contributed to overcome time and resource barriers. The fact that in each zone of Ethiopia unique gender relations could be observed; meant that the findings of this study cannot be representative of all of the experiences of men and women in agriculture value chains in Ethiopia. It rather tells of the lived experiences of the participants of the dairy and vegetable value chains in Arsi in line with gender relations.

1.9 Expected use of research results

In investigating gender mainstreaming in agricultural value chains, the study exposes the existing gender gaps such as unequal access to resources, productive inputs, technologies, and market information and at the same time it identifies factors contributed to these gender gaps. In doing so the result of the study will make significant contributions as inputs in gender and development discourses as well as in agriculture and rural development policy particularly in areas where the roles of women in agriculture production and marketing are invisible in official statistics. Insights on understanding the balance of power in gender relations in a rural setting will contribute to address the challenges of agricultural productivity in closing the gender gap and improve the wellbeing of rural women by enhancing the level of their empowerment.

1.10 Thesis structure

This study is composed of eight chapters. The first chapter is the introduction which includes background of the study, research area, and context of the study. In addition, this chapter has presented, research problem, rationale, and significance of the study, personal location and motivation for the study, objective of the research, research questions, and scope and limitation of the study.

The second chapter provides the literature reviews and theoretical frameworks on the main themes of the study which include gender and development theories, development and different feminist theories, gender mainstreaming strategies and critiques, gender equality and women's empowerment, and gender, employment, and decent work in agricultural value chains. In doing so, the chapter presents theoretical and empirical works on how rural development interventions in agricultural value chains related to gender equality, employment, and women's empowerment.

Chapter three outlines research design, paradigm choices, research methodology, and the method employed in this study. The critical paradigm upon which this study is based will be discussed in detail. Justifications for the paradigm chosen, and research approach and methods selections for the study are given in this chapter. This chapter also discussed the ethical considerations employed in the study.

Chapter four examines and analyses the macro perspectives of agricultural development in Ethiopia, gender and value chain in agriculture, and the position of women in Ethiopia in general. As one part of the study findings, this chapter critically discusses gender equality and the position of women in agrarian society and women's agency from the historical perspective as well as rural development policies implemented at different points in time in the country. This chapter also gives contextual analysis of the research community of the study area (Arsis) from gender perspectives with

the aim of revealing the reality of social institutions and women's position of Arsis Oromo based on the available empirical works.

Chapter five includes the main findings of the study on value chain analysis of gender equality in agricultural value chains from the empirical fieldwork data analysis. The chapter particularly presents the socio-economic profile of the research participants, analysis gender division of labour in the household, gender roles in agricultural value chains, and gendered gap in agricultural value chains in terms of access to and control over resources, access to productive inputs and support services. The chapter also gives insights into how these gender gaps related to gender differences in productivity and women's empowerment.

Chapter six presents analysis of women's empowerment in agricultural value chains in the qualitative inquiry approach. It explains empowerment dimensions and processes from the agricultural value chain perspective. It gives an assessment of women's empowerment at different levels and describes factors that affect women's empowerment in the study area.

Chapter seven provides analysis of socio-cultural and institutional factors in relation to gender equality in agricultural value chains. It discusses how socio-cultural, socio-economic and institutional factors explain gender relations particularly in the participation of agricultural value chains, decision making, and value chain governances.

Chapter eight, the last chapter of the study, gives a summary and conclusion of the study as well as the recommendation for the overall policy implications.

CHAPTER 2

GENDER, DEVELOPMENT, AND VALUE CHAIN: A LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Having portrayed the background of the study, research problem, and aim of the study in the preceding chapter, this chapter presents the overview of literature and theoretical framework that guide the thesis. The chapter specifically presents studies related to topics on gender and development, gender equality, and women's empowerment, gender mainstreaming in agriculture and gender employment and decent work in agriculture value. In a broader context the chapter also gives theoretical overviews of historical gender consideration in international development, feminist theories, and sustainable development framework and gender. In doing so, the chapter provides a guide to the main themes of research topic and paradigm and methodological selection.

2.2 Gender and development theory

The link between gender and development has been well recognized for several decades by development analysts and agencies. It has become evidenced that development could not be realised without the consideration of the gender relation which explains the social dimensions of the relationships between men and women. Hence "the notion of development is largely dependent on the acknowledgement of women's roles in development" (Ege 211:418). In development, gender is a power issue that can be reflected in how men and women could benefit from development opportunities and how they are respectively affected by the development decisions and practices.

2.2.1 Gender considerations in international development

The notion of development as a discipline came to existence after the Second World War when the United States and its allies wanted to spread the benefits of modernization to the so-called third-world nations (Momsen 2004:8). Some people associate the commencement of the development concept with the speech of Truman in which he presented the nations of South as 'underdeveloped' (Rodney 1982 cited in Ladic 2015:165). This was based on the premises of the modernization theory that assumes development is a linear progression through which society moves from simple, homogeneous, tradition to complex, heterogeneous modernity to catch-up with the assumed 'civilized', 'innovative', and 'ideal' society of the West (Luintel 2014:222). The Modernization paradigm emerged during the post-war era when the United States emerged as a hegemonic power (Connelly, Murray, MacDonald, & Parpart 2000:80). The unilinear path to growth and development assumption

of modernization theory was later challenged by the work of Robert Nisbet, who touted development as social progress that involves the perspective of progress used in the modern world to help achieve individual freedom, equality or justice, and the abolition of political absolutism, racial superiority, and the totalitarian state (Nisbet 1979). Nisbet further argued that social evolution is completely different from biological evolution both historically and logically.

During the Cold War era, the two superpowers of USA and USSR used foreign aid including food aid and military aid as a political tool in influencing and aligning the former colonial and non-aligned countries of the Third World. However, aligning countries into West and East camp came to an end in 1989 with the downfall of the state socialist model in the USSR and Eastern Europe and then the neoliberal capitalism became dominant and appeared to be a single economic model in which the gender differences are currently considered and operationalized (Momsen 2004:8).

In the 1930s, early development initiatives by economists and colonialists emerged, followed by attempts in the 1940s and 1950s to modernize the colonies; during all of these development initiatives, women's perspectives had largely been ignored (Connelly et al 2000:85). However, in 1946, the United Nations demonstrated its commitment to the advancement of women through establishing a sub-commission formally known as the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) with a specific mandate to "prepare recommendations and reports to the Economic and Social Council on promoting women's rights in political, economic, civil, social and educational fields and to make recommendations on urgent problems requiring immediate attention in the field of women's rights" (UN Women 2019:4).

The post-World War II Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, article 2 focuses on non-discrimination based on social categories such as sex (not gender), race, language, politics, religion, and other classes; as such, article 2 served as the principal tenet to create a global normative framework of human rights, though it was not binding (Pittman 2014:3). However, the concept of gender appeared in academic studies in the late 1960s triggered by second-wave feminism, which criticized the way concerns, experiences, interests, and identities of women were excluded in realms of academia and knowledge production and prior to the 1970s gender was missing in social science studies and hence differences and inequalities between women and men largely remained invisible (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004:9).

The concept of gender appeared in international development through the foundational works of feminist theorists of the 1970s that influenced social scientists' thinking (Cornwall & Rivas 2015:401). Gender equality matters in development because first, realizing gender equality is a core

development objective in its own right; second, achieving gender equality will enhance productivity, increase the contribution of development outcomes for the next generation, and make institutions more inclusive through empowering women to actively engage in the decision-making process for economic, social, and political affairs, hence it is smart economics (World Bank 2012:22).

The ground-breaking work of Ester Boserup was first published in 1970. "Women's Role in Economic Development" particularly focused on women's contributions in the development of agriculture and industry had contributed to inspiring the UN's Decade for Women (1976-1986) and emerging research and enquiry into gender issues (Kanji, Tan, & Toulmin 2007:4). In her work, Boserup demonstrated how women's concerns were overlooked in development policies and processes from the colonial times onwards. Since then, the gender roles in development have been recognized and the issues of gender have been brought to public attention (Momsen 2004:1). International organizations like the World Bank are regarded as actors in gender promotion for the fact that the viability of any development project depends on the acknowledgement of women's roles in development (Ege 2011:418).

Following this, in the 1970s and 1980s, women's issues received unprecedented attention among activists, scholars, practitioners, and policymakers (Chant & Gutmann 2000:1). In the 1970s, in the context of second-wave feminist critiques, the issue of gender has received considerable attention in a number of social science, art and humanity disciplines and therefore gender differences and inequalities were recognized as problems to be studied and explained (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004:9). Moreover, the thinking and practices of international development agencies have been mainly influenced and shaped by feminist analyses and subsequently the concept gender and development has been widely adopted by most agencies (Chant & Gutmann 2002:269).

In her brief discussions of feminist contribution in international development Naila Kabeer pointed out that feminists have decades of experiences of analysing class inequalities through the lens of gender analysis based on purely economic nature and lately their attention turned to examining on how vertical inequality intersects with multiple and overlapping of " horizontal inequalities of gender, caste, race, and ethnicity helps to explain the persistence of poverty, discrimination, and social exclusion, over lifetimes and generations" (Kabeer 2015:189). It follows that the discussions on the importance to include gender equality in development context were held on the 1967a UN Conference on Women and 1967b UN Resolution on Decades for Women (Ladic 2015:166). Throughout the 1970s and 1980s discussions on women's issues such as designing mechanisms to protect them, and channelling resources towards the advancement of gender equality and social justice have received

increased attention by civil societies, governments and international organizations such as the UN agencies. In this regard, the Mexico City World Conference of the International Women's Year of 1975, the 1976-1985 United Nations Decades on Women, and the 1979 Convention to Eliminate All Form of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) can be mentioned (UN2014:3).

Consequently, significant progress toward achieving gender equality was made; However, worldwide there are still biases against women in terms of access to land and related property, credit services, decent work and, in some countries, their civil liberties are still limited and they are vulnerable to violence (OECD 2010:3). The development process has affected women and men differently and in some marginal areas of the South, it has aggravated the discrimination of women and exacerbated the gulf of disparity between women and men (Momsen 2004:2). Ege (2011:419) indicated that the neoliberal economic agenda of the World Bank that promotes structural adjustment programmes (SAP) - macroeconomic policies of international monetary development agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank has brought adverse effects on the advancement of achieving gender equality goals and promoting of women's rights and even aggravated the situations of women by overburdening them.

In response to the development policy that discriminates against women or the failure to practically implement correctly formulated policy gave rise to the development of the idea of "*Gender Planning and Development* that focuses on the interrelationship between gender and development, the formulation of gender policy and the implementation of gender planning practice" (Moser 1993:1).The aim of gender planning in development is to alter the subordinate position of women and achieve gender equality, equity and women's empowerment (Moser 2003:1). Hence in many countries, women have achieved remarkable gains in terms of human rights, property ownership, and access to education, health services, employment opportunities and livelihoods; nevertheless, the progress has not come evenly in all countries or for all women and across all aspects of gender equality (World Bank 2012:2).

Generally development has closed some gender gaps. For instance, according to the World Development Report of 2012, the gaps in educational enrolments in both primary and secondary education have closed in almost all the countries; life expectancy for women has improved well since 1980 and women live longer than men in most countries; and the labour force participation of women in developing countries has increased and reached over a half-billion in the last three decades (World Bank 2012:23). However, the same source indicated that gender disparities persist in other areas such as high death rate of girls and women in low- and middle-income countries; lower rates of girls'

schooling in Sub-Saharan African countries and some parts of South East Asia; persistent gap in access to economic opportunities, where more women than men are engaged in unpaid family labour and informal sector; women farmers tend to work on smaller farm plots and produce less profitable crops; and unequal decision making power in the household and in society.

2.2.2 Development and feminist theories

Evidence shows that throughout history, feminism has made immense contributions in development. Feminism arose as a political challenge to the effect of genderless discourse that taken as a universal classical academic and development discourse but often systematically undermines other knowledge (Aguinaga, Lang, Mokrani & Santillana 2013:41). The feminist approach to development is all about resisting simplified and uniform label remedy for all (Bruno 2006). Different forms of feminist theories are reviewed in this section in their relations with gender and development.

2.2.2.1 Modernization and liberal feminist theories

The idea of integrating women in development was born in the philosophy of modernization theory and liberal feminism framework (Davids, van Driel, & Parren 2018:398). In the postwar period the theory of modernization was a predominant in the international development policy and research through the works of sociologist writers Talcott Parsons in 1951 and Daniel Lerner in 1958, and the prominent early writers of the modernization school of thought Walter Rostow and Arthur Lewis (Connelly et al 2000:154). Drawing on the influential book by Rostow entitled 'The stages of economic growth: A non-communist manifesto," modernization theory proposes five levels or stages (traditional society, the preconditions for take-off, take-off, the road to maturity and the age of mass consumption) through which traditional societies of underdeveloped countries must pass to reach at progressive level of development of modern society (Shareia 2015:79). The aim of modernization theory was to protect newly independent countries from the influence of communist ideology through the introduction of Western-centric (US and European) normative development model (Shareia 2015) that premised advancements based on capital intensification, industrialization and technological innovation (Escobar 2011).

The works of 1970s liberal feminist theorists as modern liberal feminisms laid the foundation for the emergence of women's concerns and gender issues into international development (Cornwall & Rivas 2015:401). In their efforts to include women in development processes liberal feminists alongside donor agencies continued to use the modernization paradigm that viewed adoption of western development as appropriate strategy (Connelly et al 2000:88). Liberal feminists believed that

western democracy and political process can address women's subordinate position using education as an instrument for women's emancipation (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004:49). The liberal feminist theory was based on the 17th and 18th century liberal philosophy of the ideals of equality and liberty of such as like first Western feminist theorist, Mary Wollstonecraft who argued that biological differences were irrelevant to granting women political rights and the reason why women were regarded as intellectually inferior to men was due to their limited opportunity for education (Cornwall & Rivas 2015:401). Similarly, Samkange (2015:1173) noted that liberal feminist theorists believe that gender-based inequality is the result of limited access for women and girls to education, employment, and other social services.

Second-wave liberal feminism of the 1960s and 1970s aimed at improving women's access and opportunity, and challenged gender-based discrimination and stereotyping (Scraton & Flintoff 2013:97).The underlying assumption of liberal feminist theory is based on the premise that individual's responsibility of taking action to improve his/her situation, assuming that individual ignorance has contributed to gender-based discrimination and education is considered to be a solution for this (Samkange 2015:1174).

Liberal feminists address public and private spheres of life distinctly, with the assumption that private sphere cannot be regulated by agencies and therefore women should have the right to decide on issues such as abortion and use of family planning, in connection with this they proposed to have some regulations on the protection of domestic life as women continue to face domestic violence (Connelly et al 2000). The main contribution of liberal feminists was the disclosing of the extent to which modern societies discriminated against women by focusing on addressing visible gender-based discriminations such as inequality in employment opportunity, wage differentials, women's positions in public spheres, and government institutions (Lorber 1997:9).

In the liberal feminist framework, women were regarded as an oppressed homogeneous group without the consideration of the gender relations that could be interpreted within specific social settings based on historical, cultural and political practices (Momsen 2004:3). Despite the liberal feminists' success in convincing society that women are equal to men and not inferior, it failed to "overcome the prevailing belief that women and men are intrinsically different" (Lorber 1997: 10).

2.2.2.1.1 Women in Development (WID) approach

The roles women play in economies of development first appeared in academia before four decades (1970) when a Danish economist Esther Boserup published a renowned book on Women's

Role in Economic Development (Riley 2007:17). The publication of the book was a breakthrough for the evolution of the Women in Development (WID) approach. The WID perspective was emerged in the early 1970s by Western liberal feminist framework; particularly it was famous in North America among a Washington-based female development professional network (Tinker 1990; Reeves & Baden 2000). The aim of development discourse and policy approach of the WID perspective that drew on liberal feminist theorizing was to put pressure on international development and donor agencies' agendas on increasing development aids towards women (UN Women 2014:4). WID was basically a conglomeration of modernization theory and liberal feminist theory (Connelly et al 2000:87).

In modernization theory, the issue of women's inclusion in development was used as a means for building inevitable growth stages required for modernization to happen (Tinker & Zuckerman 2014). Based on their overseas experiences in development missions the liberal feminist criticized the trickle down of development of the modernization theory, arguing that men and women are not equally benefitting from the modernization impacts (Tinker 1990:31). In her work, Esther Boserup challenged the notion that economic efficiency and modernization would emancipate women by indicating that development did not trickle down to the poor. Instead, there are situations where the development programs could negatively affect the lives of the poor women, therefore in Boserup's view development in the context of modernization favours men and seems to reinforce women's dependency and contribute less to women's empowerment and autonomy (Bruno 2006:5).

It was believed that the subordination of women was the result of their exclusion from the market sphere. Therefore the proponents of the WID approach employed equity and efficiency arguments- promoting women integration into development processes and sees women as active agents of development; and no longer as passive users of development (UN Women 2014, Reeves & Baden 2000). With the assumption that the problem of women was their exclusion from the development processes; programs in the WID approach addressed women's practical needs such as "employment creation, income-generating opportunities, access to finance and education" (Reeves & Baden 2000:33) but it did not address strategic gender needs that "relate to the task of changing gender relations and challenging women's subordinate position" (Connelly et al 2000:79).

The WID approach ensured that issues of women in development were addressed in major global institutions such as the World Bank, the UN agencies, non-government organizations, private and government organizations through the enormous personal and professional efforts made by individual women and women's movements (Riley 2007:18). Riley further explained this, alongside equality and peace; WID was one of the issues addressed at the four UN world conferences on women

held respectively in Mexico City (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985), and Beijing (1995). This landmark brought changes in the focus of gender policies from the perspective of women as a vulnerable group to women being defined as active players of the economy, showing that women have significant roles in driving economic development (Riley 2007:19). Influenced by the work of Bosesrup many scholars and development activists with both liberal and Marxist feminism backgrounds and particularly the networks of women working in the UN and its overseas missions were the proponents of the WID approach. Women's struggle against all forms of discrimination had powered the WID approach in Africa (Young 1992).

The WID approach has been criticized for seeing women in isolation rather than in contrast to men (Reeves & Baden 2000; Ghodsee 2003). The advocates of this approach, including Ester Boserup, have been critiqued for considering development as linear progression by oversimplifying the rather complex and uneven growth and inequalities (Kanji et al 2007:4). Many feminist scholars appeared to stand against one-sided policies that ignore men's inclusion in the processes of seeking equality (Mark 2000:481). This approach was also criticized by many feminists from both developed and developing worlds for viewing women as instrument and failing to observe structural factors (such as social norms, community expectations, gender relations, discriminations and violation of rights) that placed women in subordinate positions need to be addressed in the first place (UN Women 2014:4).

Generally, the Western feminist theory particularly liberal feminist theory in the United States has been criticized for the fact that its principles and conclusion is less relevant to the needs of women in developing countries (Bruno 2006:2). Mohanty (1991:52) argues that the third world women's movements, struggles, and their lives are often understood from the interests of the Western feminist discourse point of view. The approach failed to see how women in the Global South will be affected by global inequalities (Connelly 2000:89).The Western feminist theory focused more on the universal agenda originated from the Western ideas; it did not consider how third world women negotiate the power relations embedded in male-dominated social structure and cultural practices (Lind 2003:227). Tinker and Zukerman (2014:1) argue that the role of women in economic development and the gender power relationship was not considered from the perspectives of cultural variability that exists in developing countries. Furthermore, liberal feminists advocated mainly women's role in economic development and they have ignored the role of women in caring economies (Bruno 2006, Tinker, & Zukerman 2014). In other words, liberal feminists focus more on women's production roles than reproduction roles.

The fact that the WID approach mainly focused on women's economic contribution has become a source of critique because the implication of integrating women in the production tells how women contribute to the economy but it doesn't give guarantees that development will benefit women as integrating women into existing structure without questioning the underlying structures biases against women (Brouwers 2013:9). Moser (1993:3) pointed out that the WID approach seeks to see the problem of women from their biologically-based sex perspective in which they are different from men and it fails to observe the socially constructed relations between women and men that cause women to take a subordinate position. The proposed women's inclusion in the development lacks supportive institutional settings such as supportive policies, programs and legal frameworks that find a balance between women's careers in the labour market and preserving their roles in family life as homemakers. The combining of private life and public sphere roles has put more pressure on women's time management and development programs have negatively affected the lives of women (Tinker & Zuckerman 2014:2).

However, scholars in this approach have made enormous contributions in changing women's sectors in various countries and cultural contexts. For instance, many countries have integrated the universal notion of human rights and equality into their government legislations (Lind 2003). Subsequently, on the Platform for Action of Beijing 1995 Word Conference on Women, gender mainstreaming (GM) in policies and program is recognized by the international communities as progressive and transformative strategies working for achieving gender equalities (Reeves & Baden 2000, Hankvisky 2012).

Caroline Moser identified and discussed five policy approaches to third-world women in development starting from the inception of modernization policies, through the introduction of basic needs strategies accompanied by redistribution to policy measures related to structural adjustments (Moser 1993) as summarized below.

i) The Welfare approach: This is the development policy approach 1950s and 1960s introduced in developing countries. Its origin was from social welfare model introduced by the colonial authorities to the third world countries prior to independence and it is the pre-WID approach. The aim of this approach was to enhance the contribution of women in development as better mothers. It recognizes the reproductive roles of women and proposes policies that meet gender practical needs such as food aid, controlling malnutrition, and family planning.

ii) Equity approach: It is considered the original WID approach and was introduced during the UN Women Decade (1976-1985). Recognizing women as active participants in development, the approach promotes equity for women in the development process. In this approach, the triple roles of women in production, reproduction, and community are recognized. This policy approach has made efforts to meet strategic gender needs through direct state intervention, ensuring women's autonomy in economy and politics and reducing the gap of inequality between men and women.

iii) The Anti-Poverty approach: It was introduced in the 1970s as a second WID approach with the purpose of ensuring the productivity of poor women. The approach considered the cause of women's poverty as the problem underdevelopment, not their subordinate position. In this approach, women's economic contribution is recognized and the practical gender needs seek to be promoted.

iv) The efficiency approach: This policy approach is considered as a third but predominantly WID approach introduced in the 1980s during the debt crises. It recognizes the economic contribution of women as a means of ensuring efficient and effective development outcomes. In this approach, the participation of women in the economy is assumed as ensuring women's equity. It seeks to meet gender practical needs through effective use of women's triple roles.

v) The empowerment approach: This approach is relatively recent and emerged from the Third World Women. The limitations of the original WID approach (equity approach) gave rise to the emergence of this approach. Its purpose is to ensure women's self-reliance through empowerment. The cause for women's subordinate position was not only the problem of gender relations but also the influence of the West and their neo-colonial oppression.

Moser (1989:1799) suggested that the roles that women and men play in third world countries are different from that of the developed countries' societies, thus incorporating gender perspectives into planning might require different conceptual frameworks and methodological tools.

2.2.2.2 Marxist-dependency theory

Marx thought that the introduction of capitalist relations through continuous extraction of surplus value from production and the exploitation of wage labour is the base for class conflicts (Balaji 1994:110). Marx believed that class conflicts due to unbalanced social relations, depression and over-exploitation of the working class would inevitably lead to the overthrow of capitalist system (Connelly 2000:159). Lenin raised the issue in relation to colonialism that was not central to Marx, arguing that

development of the colonies was highly affected by the effects of colonialism through accumulation of capital and production, exploitation of raw material and seeking ground for investment opportunities in cheap labour areas (Balaji 1994:110).

Drawing on Marxist and Neo-Marxist theory, dependency theory emerged in the 1960s following continuous underdevelopment in Latin America as a theory to explore the effect of unbalanced relations between North and South against the liberal assumption of modernization theory (Shareia 2015:81). Unlike modernization theory, which believed the cause for underdevelopment of South American nations was due to lack of appropriate national policies and failure to properly adopt and implement western technological innovation; dependency theory, which had its root in structuralism, instead argued that the main cause for underdevelopment was "a result of unequal and exploitative economic relations between the dominant powers in the North (the metropole) and their client states in the South (the periphery)" (Thelwall & Thelwall 2016:49).

The findings of the study conducted in Latin America by German-born political economist Andre Gunder Frank confirmed that the integration of Third World countries into the world economy had led to further worsening of their development and they were not benefitting adequately from most of the economic measures, because of unfair relations based on exhaustion of resources of the poor nation in the form of surplus (Balaji 1994:111). Escobar (2011:18) also noted that for dependency theorists underdevelopment was not merely due to alleged lack of capital, technological innovation or absence of modern values, rather it was due to unfair relations that create dependence from the external and exploitation from within, therefore the very concern of dependency theorists was the capitalist system rather than the development. Shareia (2015:81) summarized that according to dependency theory the economies of under-developed countries were highly affected by capitalist system that has resulted in labour disturbances, draining raw materials, reducing the rate of economic growth, increasing income inequality, affecting existing welfare system and enhancing the level of their dependence on Western countries. Moreover, dependency theorists argued that the development interventions in the form of aids benefited the West and contributed little in overcoming the upheaval of poverty and inequality of the third world countries and therefore advocated self-reliance of developing countries from incorporating into the so-called globalized world (Potter & Conway 2011 cited in Thelwall & Thelwall 2016:49).

2.2.2.2.1 Radical feminism

Radical feminism emerged in the 1960s in the US by activists inspired by Marxist theory in response to their experiences of sexism. It rejected the Marxist feminist's idea of gender inequality as

the result of class inequality, arguing that making gender equality secondary to class equality made women's concerns invisible (Connelly et al 2000). Lorber (1997:16) calls radical feminism "resistance feminism" started by small "women-only consciousness-raising groups" who brought sensitive issues of women's private daily lives to the front for discussion such as "housework, serving men's emotional and sexual needs, menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, and menopause." The main focus of radical feminism is patriarchy—arguing that men's dominance and control over women usually inflicts physical and sexual violence on women and should be challenged and changed. It also emphasized that such supremacy should not be taken by any means as normal in society (Samkange 2015:1173).

Radical feminism was developed as radical activism to explain the extent of women's operations through the personal experiences of women in the structural power relations that maintain men's dominance through a patriarchal system (Scraton & Flintoff 2013:98). Emerging from very radical left and civil rights activist groups who experienced and witnessed disappointment by men's dominating power, the radical feminists were occupied with very radical ideas associated with "separatism and man-hating"… and considered "men as part of the problem … and formed the Women's Liberation Movement in order to allow a space for the consideration of women's oppression outside of the confines of male-oriented knowledge and politics" (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004:50).

2.2.2.2.2 Marxist and socialist feminisms

Earlier Marxist feminism links women's inequalities with class-based operations and assumed that the solution to overcome women's problems is through the abolition of capitalist systems and changing workers' relationship to means of production (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004:50). However, this did not happen and the capitalist system continues to dominate the world economic system. Marx did not include women's reproduction contributions as housewives in his analysis of capitalism; but contemporary Marxist feminism did incorporate the contribution of women as housewives into their analysis of capitalism, arguing that women's contribution in capitalist system is very important in sustaining capitalist system in two ways: i) through unpaid work at home, women serve their masters and working men to continue their work; and ii) they contribute in sustaining the next generation of workers and bosses through reproduction (Lorber 1997:10). Some Marxist feminists considered women as a reserve army of labour to be used by the capitalists whenever there are seasonal high labour demands and to be fired in time of recession (Connelly 2000:150).

Socialist feminism emerged in the 1980s when the third wave of feminist movements appeared and it is where the GAD approach first rooted (Aguinaga et al 2010:49). Socialist feminism was against both classical Marxist feminist idea that considered gender-based inequality secondary to class

inequality and the radical feminist idea that dismissed class-based inequality and regarded patriarchy as the main cause for women's subordination, arguing that both class-based operations and patriarchal relations are equally important and need to be challenged (Connelly et al 2000:157). In the same way, Aguinaga et al (2010:44) argued that existing gender inequalities are the result of the capitalist system as well as socially constructed roles between productive and reproductive activities of men and women.

Scraton and Flintoff (2013) pointed out that through close examination of the relationship between class and gender, socialist feminism concluded that the cause of women's inequality cannot be simply either class relations as explained by Marxist feminism or patriarchal relations in which men's supremacy dominate over women's power as radical feminism noted, it is rather the combination of the two relations (class and patriarchal) that could explain women's unequal relations and operations. Pilcher and Whelehan (2004) noted that recognizing the way society is divided based on class, race, and gender, socialist feminists found it "more useful to consider oppression as multi-pronged and inter-related rather than arguing that one form is more destructive than others." Similar to liberal feminism socialist feminism recognizes the contribution of men to overcome women's operations (Pilcher and Whelehan 2004:50).

2.2.2.2.3 Women and development (WAD) approach

In response to the weaknesses and inadequacies of the WID approach; the Women and Development (WAD) approach came into existence in the late 1970s. WAD approach was conceived in dependency theory of development and radical feminist thinking which were paralleled to one another and characterized by critiquing the liberal and Marxist feminisms; advocating the separation of women from patriarchal domination; and promoting women-only projects. Therefore the WAD approach gave more focus to the recognition of "the distinctiveness of women's knowledge, women's work, and women's goals and responsibilities" (Connelly et al 2000:91).

The WAD approach was also the result of feminist movement in developing countries who felt that the preceding WID model mostly lacks developing countries' perspectives (Sen & Grown 1987:14). The proponents of the WAD approach argued that the need for women in developing countries is quite different from that of the developed countries. Sen and Grown (1987:11) pointed out that women in Third World countries lack access to opportunities for participation, productive resources, and opportunities for employment and sources of income which are considered to be the necessary conditions in determining their "economic and social positions."

The WAD approach mainly focused on equal participation and analyses the participation structure of public and private in developing countries (UN Women 2014:5). It recognizes women's contributions in the agricultural sector of the developing countries (Connelly et al 2000). The WAD approach also included men in its analysis, recognizing that the importance of "intersections of gender, privilege, race, class, social location" in which men could also be in unprivileged situations particularly poor men in developing countries (Connelly et al 2000:92).

There was a dispute among the proponents of the WAD approach over whether integrating women's issues into the existing mainstream development program or addressing women's issues in separate women-only projects is more worthwhile for women. The former option involves the risk of men's domination while the latter option involves the challenge of inadequate funding of separate women-only projects. However, the latter option is found to be useful in addressing particularly the women's needs as in mainstream agencies women's needs are often obscured.

The advocates of the WAD approach were mainly feminist scholars, for instance, the "Neo-Marxists and dependency theorists' such as Beneria and Sen" whose concern was on the nature of women's integration in development- they believe that women usually take marginal positions in development (Bruno 2006:6). Hence the WAD approach promoted engaging more women in social, economic, political and legal structure, however, it failed to transform the underlying gender roles or norms that sustain gender inequalities and discriminations (UN Women 2014:5).

As Connelly et al (20000) pointed out, the WAD approach has contributed in raising women's conscious, exposing their concerns to the wider public and bringing women's issues into the policy attentions. However, it has also limitations. First, it has a limited scope as it was considered a marginalized women's only project. Second, it considers women as a uniform social class and it fails to understand the complex situation women experience in different contexts. Another important limitation of WAD approach was that in giving more emphasis to the subordination and operations of women in the production aspects, it neglected the reproductive aspect of women's lives. Therefore some feminists and development theorists have shown their dissatisfaction with both WID and WAD approaches, arguing that neither approach effectively addresses structural challenges women face (Connelly et al 2000). All these limitations call for new approach that acknowledges women's contributions in the households, community and public at large.

2.2.2.2.4 Gender and development (GAD) approach

The gender and development approach (GAD) is obviously the result of the limitations of the prior approach including the WAD approach. The GAD approach originated from calls of scholars

working on women's rights, women's and feminist movements particularly socialist feminists, and activists to address the discrimination and inequalities caused by gender relations and patriarchy (UN Women 2014, Aguinaga et al 2010).The approach was based on the rich experiences drawn from organizations and scholars working at the grassroots level and the works of third world feminists which came up with the idea of Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) (Sen & Grown 1987, Connelly et al 2000). The advocates of the idea of DAWN raised questions on how development of the time affected the lives of the poor particularly women and called for the need to come up with the development alternative that would give principal emphasis to the needs of the society at large (Sen & Grown 1987:19). Moreover, the emergence of the GAD approach was very much influenced by the radical ideas forwarded by feminists (Cornwall & Rivas 2015:403). For instance, Whitehead (1979:1) suggested that "any study of women and development… on women's position or on their status, cannot start from the viewpoint that the problem is women, but rather men and women, and more specifically the socially constituted relation between them."

The GAD approach emerged in response to the limitations of the two approaches (WID and WAD) mentioned above, as both approaches have failed to address equality between men and women (Connelly et al 2000:94). Contrary to the WID and WAD approaches the GAD approach examines the position women held in relation to men in a given social setting (Riley 2007:119). This approach emphasized the need that development should focus beyond women and address problems related to gender relations, gender differential in access and control to productive resources and eventually contribute to the power balance between women and men (UN Women 2014:5). The GAD approach uses gender binary as framework and tools for gender analysis by classifying humanity into two general categories of men and women that defines their access to resources and opportunities and their position in the society (Cornwall & Rivas 2015:402).In this, the approach focuses on how in a given society certain roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes assigned to men and women differently and this in turns contributes to interrogate how socially constructed roles, norms and expectations lay foundations for the creation of gender inequality at all levels from family to public spheres (UN Women 2014:5).

Connelly et al (2000) argue that the problem of addressing gender issues in development is not merely about the lack of inclusion of women in development; the problem is rather about the lack of enabling policy environment, deep-rooted social barriers and approach of the organizations. Reeves and Baden (2000:33) pointed out that GAD approach assesses the gender relation. The power differences between men and women and the gender division of labour and roles socially assigned to

men and women by emphasizing the ways to challenge these gender roles and relations. Contrary to the WID and WAD approaches that gave more attention to the women's economic contribution; the GAD approach has recognized the triple roles of women in production, reproduction, and community (UN Women 2014: 15). While the WID approach was well accepted and practiced by the donor agencies and state machinery in the 1980s, the GAD perspective was increasingly influential in serving the interests of feminists NGOs such as Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) which was established in 1980 at Nairobi international NGO forum and in turn shaped by their experiences (Connelly et al 2000:97).

According to Cornwall and Rivas (2015:402), in the GAD approach, the intersecting issues as markers of differences based on class, race, ethnicity, age differences were hardly addressed. However, by going far beyond the narrow focus of liberal concerns of integrating women in development, the GAD approach brought the relational entailments of gendered differences into attention (Cornwall & Rivas 2015). Moreover, the notion of treating women as distinct and isolated category was ended and instead socially constituted relations between women and men is well accepted in the GAD approach (Tinker & Zukerman 2014:6). The GAD approach has made significant contributions to the study of women and development in two perspectives: first, it recognizes and addresses the radical feminist issues of patriarchal ideology perspective in which women's lives are deeply affected by the nature of patriarchal power; second, based on the socialist-feminist perspective, it also recognizes the fact that the material conditions and associated class differentials are highly affected women's status in the society (Connelly et al 2000:96).

The material status and conditions of women and as well as the patriarchal power are formed, reformed, and maintained in a given society's norms and values that assign different roles and responsibilities to women and men (Sen & Grown 1998:287). Therefore, the point of departure of GAD approach from the prior approaches is the socially constructed gender relations that determine women's position in a particular society. Relatively speaking, the GAD approach highlights the link between gender, class, and race and the corresponding social construction that defines their characteristics. This is because as Moser (1993:3) noted, the subordinate position women take and the level of oppression they face differ according to their race, class, culture and economic position in international order. In the GAD approach, women's needs take two distinct forms: i) practical gender needs that arise from immediate perceived needs such as the need for food, shelter, education and health care, ii) strategic gender needs arise from the analysis of women's subordination and require changes in the structures of gender, class, and race that define women's position in any given culture

(Moser 1989:1803). The same source noted that in the GAD approach, the practical gender needs are being politicized and there was a tendency to transform them into strategic gender needs. This is because being they are responses to the immediate perceived needs of women, practical gender needs do not effectively contribute to addressing the prevailing women's subordinations and achieving the strategic goal of women's emancipation.

In the 1990s, the GAD approach was widely adopted in a fashionable way in most policies and programs including those formerly known to work within the WID paradigm. Paradoxically, despite the GAD framework challenging the patriarchal structure, some organizations adopted the term GAD to please men and show them that the interests and concerns of men were not suppressed by excessive focus on women while on the other hand some agencies influenced by the feminist pressure still prefer to use the term WID in critiques of the structure of gender relations and challenging the fundamental inequalities (Connelly et al 2000:98).

2.2.2.3 Post-development theory

Post-development theory emerged in the 1990s in response to the limitations of the western origins of modernization and development practices for being "reductionism, universalism and ethnocentric" (Ahorro 2008:1). Like other concepts such as 'anti-development' and 'beyond-development', post-development was a radical response of the groups of people dissatisfied with the predicaments of development that regarded development as usual business, rhetoric and practices and disillusion with searching for alternative version of development (Pieterse 2010:110). The post-development idea came into existence through the influence the postmodern thoughts and anti-globalization movement from where it has gained popular voices after initial scepticism from the development studies. Nevertheless it has gained wider audiences as time has passed (Rapley 2007:4). The same source stated that development "is rejected not merely on account of its results but because of its intentions, its worldview, and mindset" (Pieterse 2010:110). Escobar (2011:19) explained that in the 1980s, the very idea of development had fallen under cultural critics who challenged the idea that Western origin development discourse operates third-world social, cultural, and economic production.

Basically, the idea of post-development was developed in the post-modern critiques of modernity. The ideology emerged directly from a post-structuralism paradigm drawing on the work of Michel Foucault (Kippler 2010, Escobar 2011), with the aim of totally dismissing development without seeking for its alternative version; rather, it called for an alternative that can replace development altogether (Esteva 1992; Escobar 1995; Rahnema 1997 cited in Kippler 2010:1). Escobar

(2011:19) discussed that the intention of post-structuralist critique has also not come up with an alternative version of development, but instead raised questions and concerns on the intention behind calling nations of the South (Asia, Latin America, and Africa) underdeveloped that need development as a remedy. In relation to this, the concern of post-structuralist critique was not about how to do development better but it raised the following fundamental questions: i). Why were Asia, Africa, and Latin America dubbed the third world by development discourses and practices? ii). What historical processes underlie the invention of the third world category? iii) What are the consequences of inventing Asia, Africa, and Latin America as the Third World?

Advocates of post-development argue that pursuing the Euro-centric development model of economic growth, technological innovations and modernization were proved to be misleading and consequently they began to look for beyond development era that considers local alternatives to the Euro-centric ways of dealing with political economy and technological innovations (Ziai 2007:i). Similar to post-structuralism idea, post-development theorists have challenged the way Western-based modernization discourse continue to remain dominant model in the Third World economic, cultural and policy decisions and in doing so it has negatively affected the self-reliance of people in those nations and worked against their real needs by ultimately serving the interest of its inventor with minimal contribution of lifting the poor out of the poverty trap (Rademacher 2015:9). Rapley (2007:5) argues the radical post-development view that rejects development altogether and calls for an alternative has not been implemented, despite the fact that there has been rallying cry of a million voices contended against globalization. Furthermore according to Pieterse (2010:111) post-development lacks consistency in its position and it is not theoretically well developed, however as Rapley (2007:5) noted, it has brought some impacts in influencing the field of international development.

2.2.2.3.1 Decoloniality and feminism

The thinking of decolonization first emerged in Latin American and Afro-Caribbean thinking as a counterpoint to the very foundation of modernity/coloniality. However, the idea was later continued in Asia and Africa as a means of challenging the re-organization of colonial modernity (Mignolo 2011:46).

Decolonization theory scholars such as Arturo Escobar, Maria Lugones, Walter Mignolo, Sylvia Wynte, and Rolando Vazquez generally believe that "colonialism has not only displaced particular communities, but also their knowledge, therefore, it is to the recovery and re-articulation of knowledge that these scholars and activists orient their academic work" (Bhambra 2014:2).

In relation to feminism, scholars like Maria Lugones proposed a decolonial feminism by providing a particular interpretation of the coloniality of power (Bhambra 2014). Basically decolonial feminism is one of the anticolonial feminist theories in which intersectionality is the base for its theoretical arguments and political project (Mendoza 2016).

Decolonial feminists resist the universal colonial/modern gender system arguing that it doesn't reflect the accounts of women of colour and women of the third world as the intersection of race, class, sexuality, and gender exceeds the categories of modernity (Lugones 2010:743). I agree with Runyan (2018) there are still colonial legacies and movies in feminists' thought and actions of third world in the areas of knowledge production and documentation that needs to be addressed in political projects like decolonizing feminism.

2.2.2.3.2 Third World feminism

Third World feminism emerged as a result of dissatisfaction with white-dominated second-wave feminism. It was argued that women in third world countries face multiple and complex operations including gender operations. Therefore, third world women's perspective involves other forms of social and economic oppressions based on nation, class or ethnicity and their relations with gender-based subordination and it also recognizes the wide variations in women's experiences that require the reorientation of development analysis in relation to gender (Sen & Grown 1987, Cortese, Djebal & Garretson 2012). Mohanty (1991:52) noted that third world feminism caught itself addressing two seemingly contradictory projects simultaneously: the first one is dealing with 'deconstructing and dismantling' hegemonic western feminism idea and the second one is constructing the formulation of autonomous, geographically and culturally fit feminist concerns and strategies. In doing so, feminist development critiques and activism have contributed to radically altering the Western-based hegemonic development discourse which its roots lie in neoclassical economics and liberal political ideology known for posing some problems on women (Connelly et al 2000:23).

Bruno (2006:6) identified that in the third world feminist analysis, women's oppression cannot only be seen from the unequal gender relation perspective but also other forms of oppression based on class, race, or ethnicity in relation to gender category. Moreover, the pressing concern for third world feminism has not been merely the struggle over equality between men and women as has been the case in western feminism; rather the main focus has been to meet the basic material needs in unfair existing international economic order (Saunders 2002 cited in Bruno 2006:8).

Third world feminists, particularly black feminists, challenged white feminist theorizing for excluding the black women's experiences in their analysis and neglecting the effect of racial power in the production of feminist knowledge, by highlighting that the situation of women's oppression could be different between the two (Scraton & Flintoff 2013:101). For instance, in collecting and analysing the earliest works of Black women, twentieth-century black feminists such as Hazel Carby, Kimberly Springer, Barbara Smith, Kimberl'e Crenshaw, Paula Giddings and many more suggested that the condition of black women's lives can be defined and explained within the context of their own people's history, not based on white women's experiences.

These experiences include the improved civil rights and social status for African women before colonial and racist structures affected the indigenous black patriarchal structure and authority (Connelly et al 2000). The difference between African women's and Western women's situations lies on the fact that historically African women were powerful and had always been considered politically important and relevant (Daniel 2016:7693). Consequently, feminist theorizing, particularly liberal feminists that articulated the link between the premises of development and modernization with the emancipation of women, did not work for women of the third world countries (Bruno 2006:5). This is because as Mohanty (1991:53) put it, third world women were not considered in western feminist theory, only the production of knowledge on a certain subject; it rather involves "direct political and discursive practice" and hence "it is purposeful and ideological."

Therefore, the women's network from the South gathered at the second World Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985 introduced an alternative development approach called Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) and challenged the assumption that the problem was a lack of women's participation in the development process. The main causes for the crises that seriously hit the lives of women in the South were indebtedness, excelling women's burden and exploitation by integrating them into the development and the cut of public spending through structural adjustment policy (Aguinaga et al 2010:46). Without rejecting the white feminist's theorizing, based on the real experiences and cultures of black people, black feminists like Barbara Smith, Kimberly Springer, and others have made a contribution by adding important insights to feminists theorizing by acknowledging the importance of race, class and gender and their coexisting impacts on the lives of women, by stating that "the multiple oppressions facing black women are not simply additive: they interact in complex ways, leading to multiple consciousness and action" (Connelly et al 2000:143).

2.3 Gender Mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming emerged as a response and a strategic solution to the shortcoming of women's- focused policies which failed to significantly address the gender disadvantage. Gender mainstreaming as a strategy "represents a shift of policy focus from women-focused policies to a more strategic attention of mainstreaming gender across all organizations as a means of achieving gender equality and women's empowerment"(Alston 2006:123).

According to the United Nations (UN 2001), gender mainstreaming is a means by which the gender equality will be realised, it is more than increasing women's participation as it places gender equality at the centre of planning, policy decisions, program budget, and institutional structures and processes and recognizes the importance of incorporating women's and men's perceptions, experiences, knowledge, and interests into these processes. This section presents historical overviews of gender mainstreaming, strategies and conceptual framework of gender mainstreaming as well as the limitation and critiques of gender mainstreaming.

2.3.1 Historical overview of gender mainstreaming

The 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing gave rise to gender mainstreaming as policy initiative adopted internationally, that represents a policy shift from focusing on solely women's disadvantages to a more strategic way of integrating gender across organizations in addressing the broader gender inequalities and women's empowerment (UN 2002, Alston 2016). Two years after the Beijing Platform for Action was signed, gender mainstreaming has been adopted by the UN as an approach to be used in all policies and program in the UN system (Moser 2005:576). The most commonly used definition of gender mainstreaming is the comprehensive one forwarded by the UN Economic and Social Council (UN 1997:28) as follows:

> Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.

In addition to the above-stated definition, Moser (2005:577) observed two more aspects of gender mainstreaming definition: first, how gender concerns institutionalized within the organization in responding to gender equality in the organizational procedures of the administrative, financial, and staffing and eventually contribute to the organizational transformation in terms of attitude, culture

goals and procedures; second, the aspect related women's empowerment—enabling women to take part in decision making processes, making their voice heard, and having courage to come up with their own agenda.

As stipulated in the Beijing Platform for Action, gender mainstreaming involves integrating gender perspectives in all spheres of societal development and political processes, through a strong and continued commitment in establishing overall gender mainstreaming principles and concrete directives (UN 2001, UN 2002). Gender mainstreaming as one of the global governances that influence the local politics in general and the development practice and its efficacy, in particular, has come to existence through the debates of international institutions (Prugl 2010:448). International organizations and governments have adopted gender mainstreaming to include gender perspectives in their institutions and make development responsive to gender equality thereby women's voice, participation, leadership, and decision-making power will be increased and their influence in addressing their perspectives within the institution will be enhanced (Sweetman 2012:389).

Two decades before the Fourth World Conference on Women, the global and local agencies overlooked such women's agendas, assuming that social issues cannot be treated in the organization's and state's operations. The main reason for the resistance against women's agenda according to Jahan (1995:826) were ignorance, biases, conflicts of interest, lack of clear understanding of women's agenda and fear of reformation of society and institution. However, the gender advocates have challenged these types of resistance in two ways: first they put more effort into providing convincing justifications why gender issues matter in the international and national government agendas and programs and how they can be effectively integrated into these international and national processes and programs.

For instance, the efficiency and poverty arguments were given as justifications for the need to include women in the development programs, assuming that the inclusion of women will enhance economic growth and reduce poverty; second, the gender advocates demanded for the structural transformation through which the existing development assumptions, theories, and models will be altered to people-centered and inclusive development model in which particularly women's decision making power will be visualized. However, unfortunately both the international and national policies were not well responsive to this later level of argument as it demands structural transformation- in power and resource sharing, access and right to use land, sharing reproductive responsibilities, gender equality in property right and decision making power, consequently the economic efficiency and poverty alleviation argument has widely been accepted by the donor agencies and government policies (Jahan 1995:827).

Furthermore, being influenced by the WID/GAD policy approach, the international agencies adopted the instrumental objectives in which gender concerns have been institutionalized through integration and mainstreaming objectives, assuming that institutionalizing gender concerns would bring legitimacy for gender concerns of getting attention in the agencies' operations (Jahan 1995:828). However, evidence shows that despite gender mainstreaming has been well adopted by international agencies and national governments, it failed to implement and institutionalize successful policies that promote gender equality and women's empowerment (Rao & Kelleher 2005, Moser 2005). In gender mainstreaming although development agencies' mandate was to emphasise empowerment as much as equality as a mechanism to alleviate poverty; in practice it has been observed that most development organizations have given more attention to equality than empowerment which may reflect the extent to which instrumental objectives are being focused (Moser 2005:577).

With all these limitations, Rao and Kelleher (2005:57) noted that in institutional practices of gender mainstreaming, women have scored some remarkable gains in many ways: in being elected at national and local governances and joining public institutions, increased access to education for girls, increased number of women's in labour force participation, improved women's participation in peacebuilding processes example in Burundi; promotion of gender equality in mainstream agencies through establishing and strengthening organizations networks; addressing of gender issues into law reform processes for instance in Botswana; making women's work visible in the census in for example in Nepal, India and Pakistan; protecting widows from dispossession through providing justice in Malawi; and formation of women's council for example in Rwanda.

The above-mentioned examples of outcomes of mainstreaming might not be taken as a norm for all women as women are not homogenous category; but vary according their class, race, and nation which often determine their opportunities and choices than their gender category (Jahan 1995, Rao & Kelleher 2005). Mainstreaming of gender in all economic, social, and political organizations has indispensable paramount importance because achieving gender equality and women's empowerment is a crucial development issue and it is a development objective in its own right (King & Mason 2001).

Gender analysis of inequalities between women and men helps to understand how gender relations intersect with other sources of inequalities of race and class and establish specific gender inequalities based on these differences (Porter & Sweetman 2005:3). Whenever there are no women's political power demonstrated as a constituency, the international agencies, and national governments are reluctant to invest in empowering women and share power and resources as many in the agencies

and governments perceived that empowering women will affect male's privileged positions and considered as additional cost burden for these bureaucrats (Jahan 1995:828).

The impact of mainstreaming is so far uneven (Hankivsky 2013:629); consequently, the success of mainstreaming gender largely depends on identifying the existing contextual necessities and available positive trends in relation to gender equality into which the mainstreaming can realise maximum outcomes (Dawson 2005:88). Since the inception of gender mainstreaming, commitment to gender mainstreaming has increased significantly; strategies on how to implement gender mainstreaming and policies on gender equality have been developed; sex dis-aggregated data have been generated; and studies on gender issues have been conducted and documented (UN 2002:6).

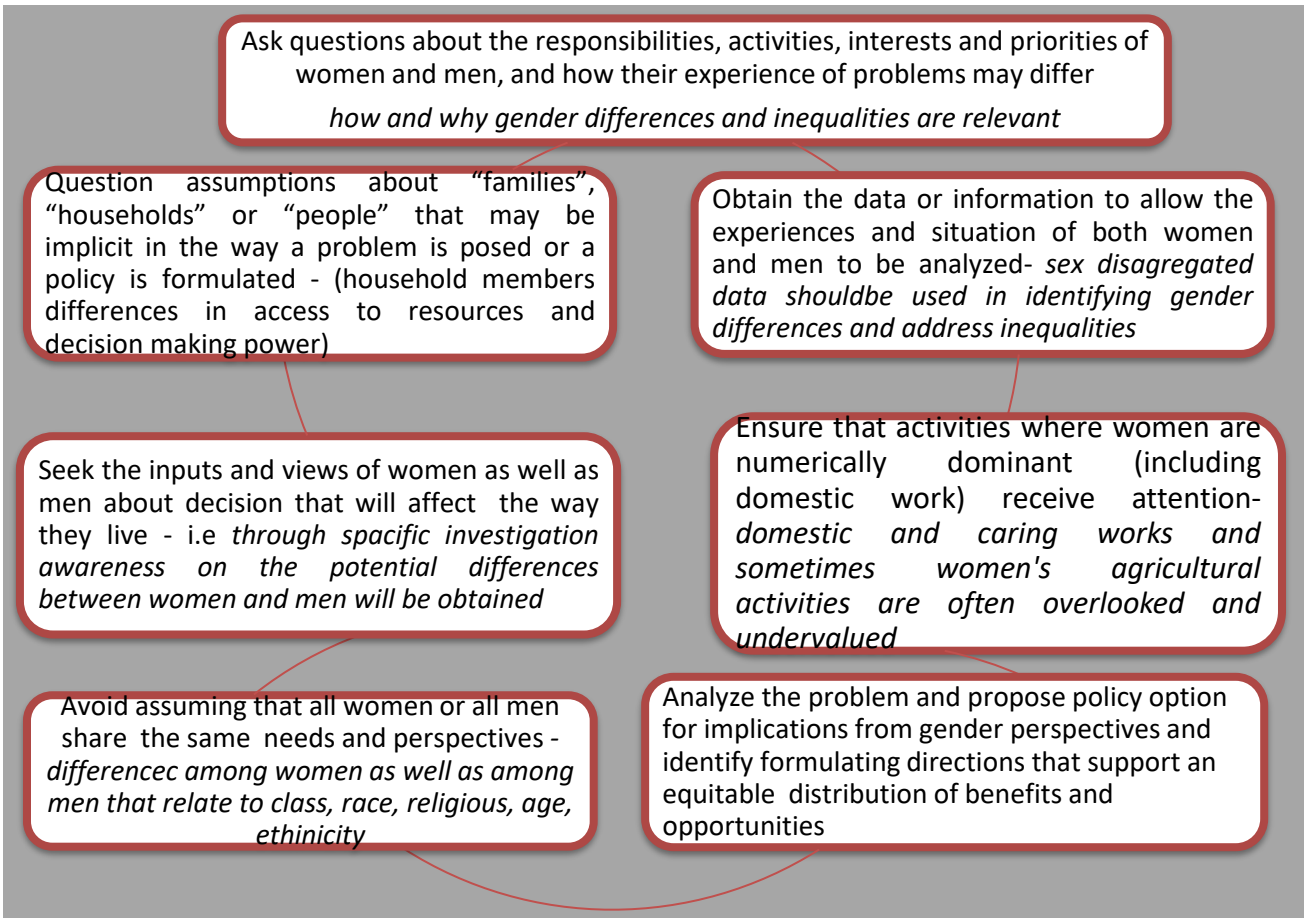


Figure 2.1: Analytical tasks in gender mainstreaming

Source: Adapted from UN 2002 page 3-4

2.3.2 Gender mainstreaming strategies

Unlike its preceding approaches that wanted to address gender equality and women's empowerment on distinct women or gender programs and projects, gender mainstreaming uses an

integral dimension of all development programs and policy-making processes to ensure the realisation of gender equality, this implies that gender equality and women's empowerment could not be fully realised through separate program or project interventions, unless policy-making institutions and processes themselves be transformed at all levels (Van Eerdewijk & Davids 2014:304). In the analysis of Dutch support organizations working on gender equality and women's empowerment, Van Eerdewijk and Dubel (2012:494) found out what they called 'twin tracks of gender mainstreaming': one is 'stand-alone track' which mainly focuses on the realisation of women's rights and gender equality; most feminist funding organizations use this track. The other is a mainstreaming track which deals with the integration of gender perspectives into other development programs or projects with its own district primary objectives.

Development agencies advocate a combined approach on the issues of responsibilities for gender mainstreaming where all staff need to share responsibilities with close supervision and support from gender specialists who are often a member of the central team as well as embedded in the decentralized departmental and branch offices (Moser 2005:580). However, it is generally suggested that in relation to the implementation of different activities such as conducting research, developing policy, analysing policy, program delivery, and activities of technical assistance, different mainstreaming strategies are required as each of these activities has different opportunities and requires different processes and hence, mainstreaming strategy needs to be adapted to the particular specific context (UN 2002:2).

At the institutional level, gender mainstreaming represents the alteration of power dynamics within the organization rather than forming women's units in the institutions and channelling solutions to them (Alston 2016:124). Kusakabe (2005:46) noted that gender mainstreaming involves a *process* of measuring the effects of the project or program on both sexes and *strategy* for integrating women's concerns and experiences in the design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation processes and ensuring equal benefits for both women and men.

In addressing gender inequalities, the mainstreaming of gender is central at all levels—policy design and development, research activities, legislations, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the programs and projects—and ensures equal participation, influence, and benefits in the development efforts and outcomes (King & Mason 2001:2). Therefore, gender mainstreaming involves a commitment in policy to the inclusion of gendered aspects at all levels of social, economic, and political agendas (Clisby 2005:23). This policy commitment emerged in response to the failure of women-only focused policy as a strategic solution contributing to significantly addressing broader

gendered disadvantages (Alston 2016:124). In women in development (WID) policy measures, the integrationist approach was widely used to integrate women into the existing development frameworks assuming that women are marginalized and viewed as a deprived group and big actors in economic development (Porter & Sweetman 2012:3).

Considering the limitations of instrumental objectives of integration and mainstreaming, and WID/GAD policies and measures in achieving substantive objectives of gender equality and women's empowerment, Jahan (1995:829) proposed what she called an agenda-setting approach in which women's agendas will be addressed, instead of trying to fit gender issues into every sector. In moving from an integrationist to an agenda-setting approach, Jahan (1995:830) pointed out that it involves the following points: i) the leadership capacity of women needs to be enhanced through decision-making structures becoming more inclusive to allow women to play proactive roles in decision-making processes; ii) More attention must be given in achieving substantive objectives of women's movement by removing legal and institutional barriers that hold back women's equal participation at all levels; iii) Within international organizations, gender concerns should be attached to other mandates at a national level, requiring women to hold political spaces through the opportunities of emerging democracy and growing civil society organizations. iv) Giving high priority to strengthening women's agency, women's groups, and organizations, which are found to be weak in many countries and heavily dependent on external donor findings. This requires designing strategies to strengthen their capacities and become self-sustaining; v) Women's movement advocacy of gender issues must be changed from the perception of win/lose scenario to the win/win situation in which changing gender roles and relation is recognized for the benefits of both women and men; xi) The development of concepts and analytical tool and models that fit into the context of South; and xii) Strengthening the institutional capacity of aid recipients to enable them to set and implement their own agenda.

However, Heidi Zachariassen argued that despite the integrationist approach of mainstreaming having been coined in the WID era, it proved to work in gender mainstreaming in different contexts with the potential of making mainstreamed projects transformative and furthermore this approach highlighted the importance to see gender mainstreaming as a process, not an end itself (Zachariassen 2012:4890).

In different countries and organizations, the various approaches to gender mainstreaming that have been developed and implemented includes, assigning gender focal person in the organization, capacity building training on issues such as gender sensitivity and "gender analytical skill, developing gender policy and gender-responsive planning and carrying out gender-sensitive monitoring and

evaluation through identifying gender indicators, collecting gender-disaggregated data, and recently, gender budget analysis" (Kusakabe 2005:46).

In addressing women's empowerment and gender equality, mainstreaming strategies might be complemented with specific targeted interventions (example training and supporting women's network organizations) designed to address particular gaps or problems that encountered in the promotion of gender equality and through this targeted interventions the gender gaps that disadvantage women will be narrowed (UN 2002:7). The UN further suggested that in the strategy of gender mainstreaming the first step is to identify the rationale for the relevance of gender differences and inequalities in a given subject under discussion, then find out how inequalities can be reduced or eliminated and decide what measures to take.

2.3.3 Critiques of gender mainstreaming

While gender mainstreaming as an important political agenda that integrates gender aspects in policy decisions is believed to have the potential to transform social relations; so far these expectations have remained unfulfilled (Paterson 2010:395). Debates are underway from scholars, policymakers, and practitioners on whether gender mainstreaming prioritized on the Beijing Platform for Action as a mechanism to achieve gender equality has succeeded or failed (Moser & Moser 2005:11). There have been intense discussions and disputes on its contents and assumed loss of transformation potential (Davids, van Driel, & Parren 2014:396). It was indicated that in the early 1990s, gender specialists introduced gender mainstreaming instruments when gender equality and women's empowerment was top priority agenda. However, since late 1990s, efforts of gender mainstreaming have declined and faced resistances, this indicates that "GM has been embraced and at the same time been vulnerable to evaporation"(van Eerdewijk 2014:346).

Gender mainstreaming has been criticized for not yet having substantive results on engendering meaningful policy change towards gender equality (Hankivsky 2013:629). This implies that it has not been successful in fulfilling its transformative potential (Mukhopadhya 2014:356). Davids, van Driel & Parren (2014:396) noted that publications in the broad field of development studies and political science and international relations revealed that the change agenda of gender mainstreaming has not been achieved so far. Evidence shows that there is a huge gap between the rhetoric of mainstreaming gender and the implementation practices on the ground. Gender mainstreaming is misconceived by most implementing agencies, including government higher officials; consequently, women at the grassroots level received minimal benefits from gender mainstreaming (Alston 2016:123).

So far, the result of evaluation of gender mainstreaming as Brouwers (2013:6) presents have shown that: i) in most cases, gender mainstreaming is considered as goal in itself, rather than as strategic means for achieving the long-term objective of gender equality, this is against the common conception that states, "mainstreaming is not an end in itself but a means to the goal of gender equality" (UN 2001:1); ii) although it is well accepted that gender mainstreaming leads to gender equality outcomes, these outcomes of gender mainstreaming are not well tested; iii) there is an assumption that the gender issue is entirely considered a women's issue with little focus on gender relations (Chant & Gutmann 2002:269). In this aspect, gender mainstreaming has made little progress in moving from Women in Development to Gender and Development as it equated gender to women alone; and iv) in gender mainstreaming more emphasis has been on women's practical needs than their strategic needs (Brouwers 2013:6). Moser and Moser (2005:11) argue that while gender mainstreaming policies have been adopted by most institutions, the practical implementation remains unchanged much as expected and more importantly the extent to which the implementation of gender mainstreaming outcomes contributing to gender equality are not well captured.

The limitations of mainstreaming gender arose from problems such as limited power of the gender personnel to influence, scant resource allocation for the implementation, failure to implement gender policy as stated in the paper "evaporation of gender policies," and the inherent gender-biased organizational culture and discourses that makes the implementation of gender mainstreaming difficult, and some have taken gender mainstreaming as feminist agenda (Kusakabe 2005:46). In her work on South Africa, Mannell found that the promotion of gender mainstreaming that brought success stories also contributed to its rejection due to many complex reasons. First, the way gender mainstreaming is understood and shared by gender implementers and practitioners matters: For instance, the failure to recognize gender relations as a power relation between men and women characterized by power imbalance; second, masculinist and patriarchal social norms that resisted gender mainstreaming to maintain men's status; third were organizational constraints such as time and money limitations; fourth, specific contexts in which gender mainstreaming is implemented such as the historical racial, class experiences, and the presence of other sources of inequalities also matter in the adoption or rejection of gender mainstreaming as it was witnessed in South Africa (Mannell 2012:433). These misimplementations have led to dissatisfaction with gender mainstreaming concept and its transformative potential that call feminists to struggle over the redefinition of the gender concept (Cornwall et al 2007 cited in Mukhopadhya 2014: 356).

Paterson (2010:395) pointed out that the transformative potential of gender mainstreaming is limited by contextual and conceptual issues related to the construction of the gender experts who are responsible to make expert analyses, and this in turn has made gender analyses a mere 'technology of rule' through which expert analysis has become the basis for interventions. Paterson further argues that relying on gender expert analyses that is not scrutinized in the context of the organization might lead the gender system further obscured and fractured by the mainstreaming. The feminists' gender concepts and principles that shaped gender and development thinking and practice have been appropriated by neoliberal development discourse (Cornwall, Gideon, & Wilson 2008:1).

The African Development Bank's comprehensive assessment on gender mainstreaming indicated that while almost all countries have gender mainstreaming policies and practices their actual implementation was limited to the project design phase and it was rarely integrated throughout the project cycle (UN 2014:10). As van Eerdewijk (2014:345) noted, as much as gender mainstreaming is embraced, it is also susceptible to desertion. This was mainly due to the absence of good leadership (leaders fail to prioritize gender mainstreaming, problem of understanding gender mainstreaming concepts, lack of performance benchmarks and clear accountability standards). Lack of strong women's organizations constrained by limited funds and the perception that gender analysis was a "luxury, add-on a burden or a problem to address"(Pittman 2014:10) further contributed to desertion. Furthermore in the evaluations on the gender mainstreaming the UN observed that gender mainstreaming practices and concepts have commonly encountered defensive resistance by staff and leadership in connection with deep-rooted cultural issues and some might resist the change in fear of losing their statuesque as the change involves redistribution of power and resource (Pittman 2014:12). The work of Alston in rural Australia also confirmed that in many organizations there are departmental resistances toward gender mainstreaming mainly due to inherent cultural resistances of the organizations, consequently in some cases the gender unit's relationship with other departments was found to be tense and most departments have only paid lip service to gender equality (Alston 2016:139).

2.3.4 Feminist critiques of gender mainstreaming

The ideologically driven feminist movements (liberal feminism, anarchist feminism, and Marxist feminism) have paved the way for the development of gender equality initiatives such as Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD) Gender and Development (GAD) and later gender mainstreaming that was already coined in WID and GAD approaches (Vyas-Doorgapersad 2016:141) .

The common agenda shared between development and feminism is the philosophy of transformation along with continuously contested political objectives that struggle over the interpretive power on "what languages and images, representations, narratives and stories, should be used to plan or mobilize for change" (Cornwall, Harrison & Whitehead 2007:3). In this sense, both development and feminism recognize the gender-based power disparity between women and men in decision making "in politics, institutions, and economics as well as social and cultural norms and traditions" (Kotze 2009:6).

Gender and development as observed in bureaucratic gender mainstreaming involves less encouraging elements: first, there is donor-driven agenda in gender mainstreaming as some of the gender agendas imposed as criteria for receiving aids; second the elites controlled all the gender and development related power and resources and these are often bureaucrats who are aware of possible rewards for talking good on gender issues; third there is a tendency of policing, shaming, exclusion of other groups whose discourses don't fit the gender and development hegemony (Standing 2007:103). The fact that the work of gender mainstreaming is found to be challenging and often constrained by a shortage of resources both in terms of human and financial supports, has compelled women and gender advocates to make strategic decision of working in coalition with other stakeholders on which gender equality works rely for funding and taking advantage of opportunities for work; but whose visions and goals might differ from theirs (Chant & Sweetman 2012:525).

There is a growing critique from feminist scholars against gender mainstreaming strategy for it has remained on paper, without genuinely being implemented of policy rhetoric into the actual reality grounded and hence, it serves little more than the decoration for politics (Clisby 2005:23). According to Zachariassen (2012:484) like the Gender and Development (GAD) approach, gender mainstreaming has stayed theoretical and its mainstreaming strategy is more of a top-down one. Consequently, since early 2000s growing evidence have started to appear showing that gender mainstreaming has contributed little to the promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment and seemingly failed to realise "the fundamental institutional transformation" as expected (Van Eerdewijk & Davids 2014:304) and it has no power and ground-breaking courage to defend itself against backlash it is facing in different fronts (Sweetman 2012:390). However this was partly something to do with the ways how gender mainstreaming assessments are being done because gender mainstreaming has mostly used and applied in both policy and research in a decontextualized way that "obscure a profound reflection on the transformative potential of gender mainstreaming" (Van Eerdewijk & Davids 2014:304).

Sweetman noted that it is not an easy task to measure the effects of gender mainstreaming across different organizations because gender meaning, understanding and applications vary and what entails in the process of implementation and monitoring also differ from one organization to another. As such, evaluation of gender mainstreaming requires disaggregation and characterization of criteria based on specific contextual reality (Subrahmanian 2004 as cited in Van Eerdewijk & Davids 2014:304).

Chant and Sweetman (2012:518) criticized the so-called smart economics approach that promotes investing in women and girls for the sake of effective development outcomes and this idea has become universally the rationale for address women's subordinate position. Smart economics is related to the efficiency approach to women in development (WID) of the 1980s and it lacks the common discourses dominating gender and development literatures on what entails in the subjective oriented empowerment of women and gender equality such as mapping empowerments in the project (the work of Caroline Moser in 1989) and structure and agency (the work of Naila Kabeer in 2003), and participatory research and activism (the work related to Pathways of Women's Empowerment Project at the University of Sussex) (Chant & Sweetman 2012:518).

Mainstreaming gender, particularly in developing countries, are constrained by sparse civil society and grassroots organizations that advocate gender equality at national and local bureaucracies. The efforts are limited to agencies such as NGOs who seek to work with governments in a coordinated way (often as part of conditionality for aids) with common funding pool rather than financing separate gender projects, consequently gender mainstreaming in sector bureaucracies has led to policy evaporation – commitment to implement gender equality policy is lost or heavily watered down or stuck in the bureaucracy (Standing 2007:101). For instance, Wendoh and Wallace (2005:71) reveal that gender mainstreaming in Africa has been promoted by international donor agencies and adopted by local NGOs and government sectors, and in some organizations and local NGOs, it has been used as a means to attract donor funding. Most of these organizations find themselves struggling to put gender mainstreaming and related gender concepts in their project documents because they have little understanding of the concepts and no ownership over. The same authors concluded that the imposition of the concept by external forces, absence of local ownership and little understanding of the concept by local agencies could lead to complete rejection or create resistance of implementing gender mainstreaming.

Study conducted in South Africa shows that feminist movements had contributed in influencing the legislative and policy frameworks to incorporate women's perspectives for

empowerment; however, women are not yet equally benefitting from the gender mainstreaming due to practical challenges on the ground, therefore political determination is still required in the policy formulation and implementation of gender mainstreaming (Vyas-Doorgapersad 2016:141).

Gender mainstreaming is criticized for its gender myths that present women as more honest, better in credit uses, selflessly work, easier to mobilize, best poverty alleviating agents, and excellent anti-corruption vigilantes. However, feminists argue that though most of these stereotypes are inherently true, it is myth-making as far as these quality traits originated from women's striving for survival end up in being used for economic and political consumption; rather than indication of the feminist commitment to their empowerment, consequently the myth complexes are being distorted and used in disempowering way by converting women into instruments that serve neoliberal and other fundamentalist agendas (Batliwala & Dhanra 2007:32).The point of departure in the feminist approach lies in its women-centered orientation that particularly aims to realise the advancement of women's rights and cross-disciplinary approach (Bruno 2006:4). Moreover, the concern of feminist goes beyond understanding of women's position in unequal gender relations to identifying effective and efficient mechanisms on how to improve the lives of members of the society at large (Ritzer 2004 cited in Bruno 2006:4).

According to Paterson (2010:396), in feminist politics gender mainstreaming can be presented as critical as well as a contested concept. It is a critical and important concept because it integrates all gender issues into policy decisions of the state apparatus; and at the same time it is contested concept because there is much debate among scholars around its meaning, approaches and as well as its transformative potential on gender relations and influencing state decisions. For instance, from the feminist perspective, it was noted that the political commitments depicted on the BPfA and transformative potential of gender mainstreaming is being lost or watered down through technocratic institutionalization processes (Pittman 2014, Paterson 20105, Mukhopadhyay 2014).

UNDP's Independent Evaluation Office on gender mainstreaming reported that the human rights issues of other categories of people (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender [LGBT]) are not as well integrated into gender mainstreaming politics and agenda as feminists wanted. Feminists also criticize how in most development agencies gender mainstreaming knowledge is produced, understood and applied through fast track, duplication, and often depoliticized gender training (Pittman 2014:15). The reliability of gender mainstreaming on expert knowledge specifically the construction of gender experts with full authority to undertake expert analysis, monitor and suggest interventions has made gender analysis a mere technocratic exercise, because this approach failed to

recognize the local context and it is not based on diverse feminist literature and knowledge-based (Paterson 2010, Pittman 2014).

Cornwall, Harrison, and Whitehead (2007:18) pointed out that understanding gender myths and feminist fables is very important to grasp the reasons why the current gender and development interventions failed to address the complexity of gender relations and improve the lives of women and men. It is concluded that generally gender mainstreaming has failed to address gender equality and women's empowerment mainly due to lack of responsibility and accountability within the organization and altogether the absence of political will of international and state agencies in the implementation of gender mainstreaming (Aliston 2016:124).

2.4 Gender equality and women's empowerment

Gender equality refers to "women having the same opportunities in life as men, including the ability to participate in the public sphere" (Reeves and Baden 2000:10). In other words, gender equality entails the fact that both men and women are born free and have the right to develop their personal abilities and free to make choices in their lives without any imposition from socially set strict gender roles. The concept also includes recognizing and equally valuing men's and women's different needs and aspirations (Holzner, Neuhold, & Weiss-Gänger 2010:5).

The term *empowerment* according to Kabeer (2005:13, 1999:436), "refers to the process by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such ability" and … "empowerment relates to the process of change." Kabeer further identified three interrelated dimensions through which the concept empowerment can be explored: i) "…agency represents the processes by which choices are made and put into effect"; ii) "…resources refer to the medium through which agency is exercised"; iii) "…achievements refers to the outcomes of agency." In her recent publication, Naila Kabeer proposed the conceptualization of empowerment to draw on women's own evaluation of changes in their lives as well as exploring theoretically-derived criteria that assess social changes (Kabeer 2017:650). Women's empowerment basically appeared as a reformist approach of change that concerned mainly with transforming gender power relations in terms of demanding rights for women and justice for the society in general, and challenging and transforming the existing economic, social and political structures (Cornwall & Rivas 2015:396).

Empowerment involves increasing the capacity of those who have previously been denied such capacity to take action of their own choices, enhancing their ability to challenge existing structures of inequalities embedded in their society, developing women's sense of self-worth and collective identity,

working towards changes in women's lives, increasing capacity to exercise the autonomy to control over their own lives, and ability to renegotiate their concerns with those who matter to them, and developing the ability to actively take part and recognized as active citizens as men in all sphere of development that shape their societies and hence ensure the democratic distribution of power and opportunities (Kabeer 2017:651).

The terms *gender equality* and *women's empowerment* appeared to be used in the 1980s and 1990s by feminists as a means to bring women's rights into the international development agenda and it was fully embraced by international donor agencies, NGOs and government organizations (Cornwall & Rivas 2015:396). It has been well recognized as development main priority and has got the attention of development's main player to commit resources to women's issues and it has also caught the attention of "the philanthropic wing of big business" (Cornwall & Anyidoho 2010:144). Since its inception, the language of gender equality and women's empowerment has become an integral part of the development process subsequently it has become one of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which promotes gender equality and empower women, as well as one of the Sustainable Development Goals (Fielding & Lepine 2016:826).

While worldwide impressive gains have been recorded towards attaining gender equality and women's empowerments particularly in terms of narrowing the school enrolment gap, there are still areas where gender inequalities continue to persist especially in the so-called third world countries where women have still limited/no access to the formal labour market and scant opportunity for formal employment particularly at higher managerial position (Jager & Rohwer 2009:37).

Gender equality and women's empowerment are development objectives in their own right because development means not only overcoming income poverty, or better access to justice but narrowing gaps in well-being between men and women (World Bank 2012:3). Malhotr, Schuler, and Boender (2002:3) describe "gender equality as a development objective in itself and as a means to promote growth, reduce poverty and promote better governance," likewise promoting women's empowerment has similar dual rationale: it is a development goal in itself as social justice is mandatory for human welfare and intrinsically worth valued and on the other hand "women's empowerment is a means to other ends." But as Kabeer (2005:13) noted in MDGs gender equality and women's empowerment is considered as an end in itself rather than as a means of achieving other goals. According to Kabeer (2016:295) findings across different countries and time periods show that gender equality positively contributed to economic growth despite the relationship between the two can be

arbitrated by a variety of contextual factors such as governing policies and local patriarchal structure in which economic strategies are embedded.

Achieving gender equality helps to reduce poverty and vulnerability as inequality of gender perpetuates particularly women's and girls' poverty and vulnerability (Jones, Holmes, & Espey 2010:113). Equality in women's access to employment and education opportunities will reduce household poverty as women administered resources produce better outcomes of human capital and capabilities within the household (Kabeer 2012:3). This means attaining gender equality in economic participation will enhance the inclusiveness of the growth "because women's access to economic resources improves distributional dynamics within the household" (Kabeer 2012:4).

It was argued that that gender equality and women's empowerment matter in development for two main reasons: first from the basic human right perspective, men and women need to have the ability to live the life of one's own choosing and free from absolute deprivation, here equality between men and women intrinsically matters; this relates to the Amartya Sen's ideas the considers development as a process of expanding freedom, second gender equality can be regarded as a means to enhance economic efficiency and contribute in achieving other development outcomes, here equality between men and women instrumentally matters (World Bank 2012:3). Kabeer (2001:17) further explained that the intrinsically matters argument for women's empowerment tended to be seen "in policy circles as 'zero-sum' game with politically weak winners and powerful losers",… on the other hand the instrumentalist argument of gender equality and women's empowerment that relates to the achievements of multiplier effects "offer policymakers the possibility of achieving familiar and approved goals"… and " the persuasiveness of claims that women's empowerment has important policy payoffs" in other development outcomes including family matter, economic growth, and poverty alleviation.

The 2012, the World Development Report of the World Bank on women indicated that attaining gender equality is smart economics that enhances the efficiency of economic performance and makes other development outcomes more useful to the society in different ways: first, gender equality removes structural barriers that prevent women from having equal opportunities in accessing productive resources and other social services such as access to education, employment, and other economic opportunities that generate better productivity gains; it also improves women's position and capability will enhance the benefits of other development outcomes including improving the lives of their children via nutritional status, education performance, health, and survival; third, gender equality

paves the way for both men and women to be politically active and have equal chances to participate and influence the decisions concerning social, economic, and political issues (World Bank 2012:3).

Gender equality and women's empowerment will address problems associated with difference in power relations between men and women that can be explained by roles assigned to individuals in the household and community as well as expected appropriate characteristics and behaviour which is informed by patriarchal structure and socialization that attributes power to men than women (UNFPA 2008:9). Klasen (1999 cited in Kabeer 2016:300) suggested that gender-equal access to resources can contribute to economic growth in two ways: first through family-controlled resources where women's improved access allows them to invest the resources for the benefits of the family in general and the children in particular; second through a market-mediated way to enhance productivity of available human resources to the economy.

The world development report also confirmed that improved women's access to and control over the household resources will lead to more investment in their children's wellbeing with positive effects on the economy (Kabeer 2016, World Bank 2012).Women's endowments can be physical materials: land, capital and finance; human resources which includes knowledge, skills, and experiences; and social resources such as obligations and expectations reflect in the relationship and networking that contribute to enhance women's ability to choose the lives they value to live (Kabeer 2001:20). Hanmer & Klugman (2016:240) argues that increased resource endowments might not lead to increased agency for different individuals due to differences in underpinning structures of constraints, therefore it is important to know the specific situation under which women access these resources.

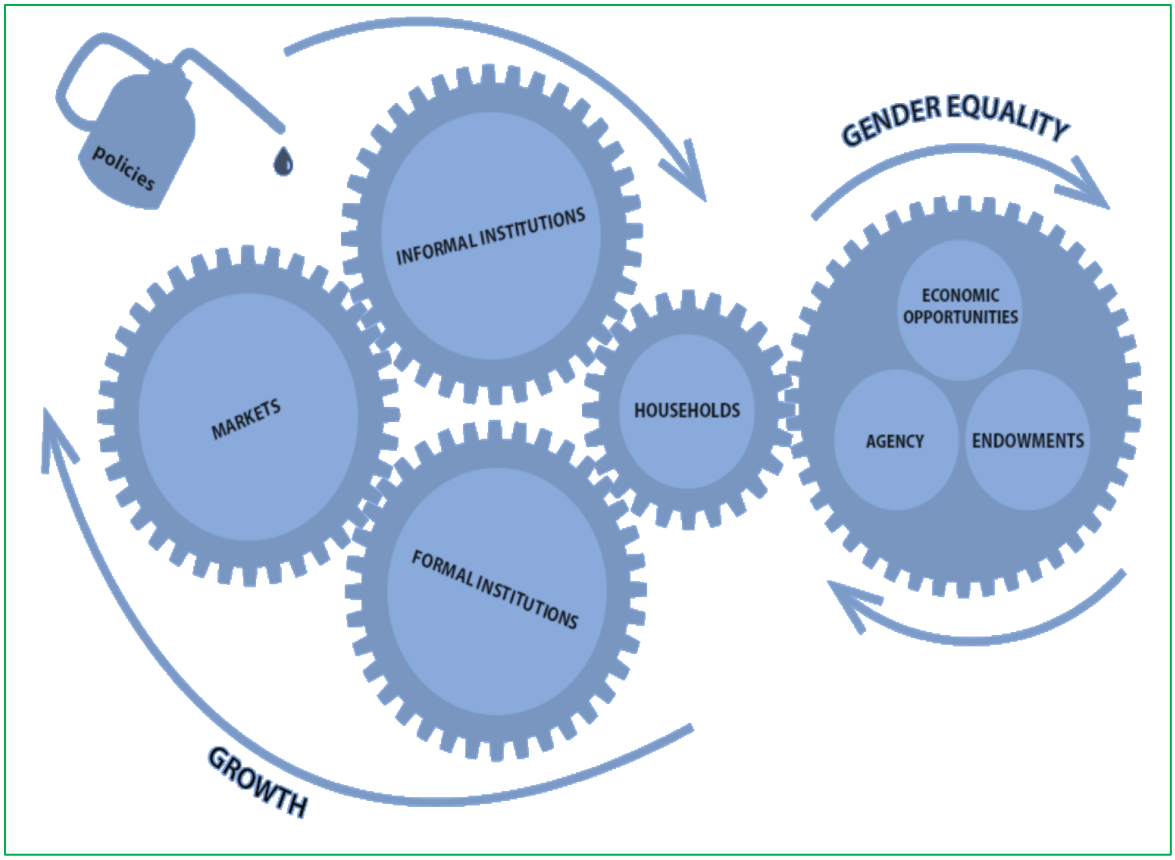


Figure 2.2: Gender outcomes resulting from interactions between households, market, and institutions

Source: World Bank 2012, World Development Report page 11

Drawing on the work of Amartyan Sen, the two major literature strands on agency: women's empowerment research and multidimensional measures work of the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Institute (OPHI) emphasized on the importance of cognitive change in terms of increased confidence, self-esteem, being autonomous, feeling accepted, respected, and motivated (Hanmer & Klugman 2016:239). Kabeer (2005:14) defines agency in relation to empowerment as the process it takes to make one's own choices and implement those choices into effect, therefore agency is not only about the ability to make and act on one's own life choices but is also about the capacity to challenge power relations.

Women's collective agency can transform society through its influences in shaping formal and informal institutions and markets that impose impediments on women's individual agency and opportunities. This can only be possible through empowering women as agents of their own political and social development so that they can propose policy options responsive to their special demands

(World Bank 2012:6). In the same way that women's collective agency influences institutions, institutions in turn influence and shape markets and their arrangements.

Women's empowerment will enable women to challenge existing social norms and cultural practices of the society that reinforce unequal power relations and thereby improve their wellbeing (Swain & Wallentin 2017:685). Gender equality and women's empowerment further address the persistent inequalities of rights, responsibility, roles, access to resources and opportunities and use of the benefit of development outcomes between men and women (UNFPA 2008, Tsikata 2015).

Swain and Wallentin (2017:685) confirmed that women's empowerment is a multi-locational and multidimensional process, as empirical study conducted in different states of India has indicated. For instance in the Southern State of India economic progress have significant positive impacts in empowering women, while in other states autonomy in decision making, networking, communication, and political participation significantly contributed to the empowering women and the same study shows that the delivery of microfinance has no significant effects on the empowerment of women and similarly participation in the community development initiatives of the self-help group meant for household's welfare might not directly empower women. In this regard, Mayoux (2000:3) identified four possible views on the relation between microfinance and women's empowerment:

i) Sustainable microfinance program would empower women

ii) Women's empowerment potential of microfinance can be affected by poor program design

iii) Microfinance is a key ingredient and more important in the strategy to alleviate poverty than being a means of empowering women

iv) Microfinance is a waste of resources with no contribution to empowering women

In her subsequent work, Mayoux (2005) identified three competing paradigms (feminist empowerment paradigm, poverty alleviation paradigm, and financial self-sustainability paradigm) that have not only different aims, understanding, policy prescriptions, and priorities in relation to both microfinance and gender policy, but also have different perceptions of the interrelation between microfinance and women's empowerment (see the summary of these competing paradigms in the following table).

Table 2.1: Competing Paradigm

	Feminist Empowerment Paradigm	Poverty Alleviation Paradigm	Financial Self-Sustainability Paradigm
Main policy focus	Microfinance as an entry point for women's economic, social, and political empowerment	Microfinance as part of an integrated programs for poverty reduction for the poorest households	Financially self-sustainable microfinance programs which increase access to micro-finance services for large numbers of poor people
Target group	Poor women, alternative role models	The poorest	The entrepreneurial poor
Reason for targeting women	Gender equality and human rights	• Higher levels of female poverty • Women's responsibility for household well-being	• Efficiency because of high female repayment rates • Contribution of women's economic activity to economic growth
Underlying Paradigm	Structuralist and socialist feminist critique of capitalism	Interventionist poverty alleviation and community development	Neo-liberal market growth
Main Policy Instrument	Gender awareness and feminist organization	• The importance of small savings and loan provision, • Group formation for community development, • Methodologies for poverty targeting and/or operating in remote areas.	• Setting of interest rates to cover costs • Separation of micro-finance from other interventions for separate accounting • Program expansion to increase outreach and economies of scale • Ways of using groups to decrease costs of delivery
Main Focus of Gender Policy	Gender awareness and feminist organization	Increasing women's participation in self-help groups	Providing the framework for equal access for women
Definition of Empowerment	Transformation of power relations throughout society	Increased wellbeing, community Development, and self-sufficiency	Economic empowerment, expansion of individual choice and capacities for self-reliance
Underlying Assumption	Women's empowerment requires fundamental change in the macrolevel development agenda well as explicit support for women to challenge gender subordination at the micro-level	Increased well-being and group formation will automatically enable women to empower themselves	Increasing women's access to microfinance will automatically lead to economic empowerment without other complementary interventions or change in the macro-economic growth agenda.

Source : Mayoux 2005, page 4

In searching for a potential program/project that empowers women, Hunt (2004:145) distinguished between practical and strategic gender needs. Practical gender needs are women's practical and immediate needs often required for survival as priority needs, without challenging existing culture, tradition, gender roles, and institutions and therefore barely contribute to transforming women's subordinate position. Strategic gender needs are those that contribute to transforming gender power relations and bring about gender equality through articulating women's strategic interests and challenging their existing lower position. It was Maxine Molyneux who first identified two gender interests—strategic and practical—and described that strategic gender interests as those interests that developed by women from the dissonance of the social position they take by gender attributes, these interests derived from the analysis and recognizing women's subordination and aspiration of the formulation of better position. Conversely, practical gender interests arise from the concrete reality and conditions of women's position and are usually a response to an immediate perceived need and this gender interest doesn't necessarily entail gender equality and emancipation of women (Molyneux 1985:232).

In overcoming women's subordinate position strategic gender needs may include measures such as abolition of labour division based on sex, minimizing domestic burden and childcare, avoiding institutional and structural based discriminations against women, attaining equality in politics, ensuring freedom of choices over childbearing and have adequate legal protection and measures against domestic violence on women (Molyneux 1985:233). Women's triple role of reproductive (the childbearing and rearing responsibilities), productive (engaging in agricultural activities in the rural areas, work in informal sectors in urban areas) and community management (responsibility for local community settlements, the formation and managing of the local organization and protests) severely constrained women through overloading them in balancing these roles, though these triple roles women are not well recognized in gender policy and planning (Moser 1989:1801).

2.4.1 Measuring gender equality and empowerment

The empowerment approach emerged in women and development discourse in the mid- 1980s from the standpoint of the Third World Women paradigm, particularly from the works of emergent feminist writings and experiences of organizations working at the grassroots level in developing countries (Tasli 2007:29). The same source further noted that it is not only difficult to define and conceptualize the term empowerment, but also it is difficult to measure as well. As Kabeer (1999:436) also states, "not everyone accepts that empowerment can be clearly defined, let alone measured." The difficulty of measuring empowerment is related to the problem of finding appropriate indicators, the

need to have different indicators in measuring empowerment at different levels (local and national) and measuring different dimensions of empowerment (individual and collective empowerment) (Tasli 2007:56). The measurement of gender equality has traditionally been limited to a few measures such as education, employment, and wage differential due to the influences of neoclassical growth modelling and therefore measuring gender equality using wider ranges of equality measures such as well-being, rights and political participation is a relatively new practice (Kabeer 2016:296).

The empowerment approach aims to target and challenge the existing societal structures that are believed to be the main source of women's subordination (Tasli 2007:29). Seebens (2011:2) argues that women's empowerment could be one of the means to reducing gender inequality and at the same time it can be the result of attaining gender equality. While the inequality of gender can often be easily detected through applying simple gender analysis, understanding women's empowerment and its effects requires more rigorous methodology and is often ambiguous. This is because the empowerment approach assesses women's subordination from the family level to the complex socio-political, economic and cultural context levels that normally functions in a spiral and reinforcing way and maintained and protected through socio-cultural norms (Tasli 2007:29).

It was argued that contrary to the supposition that some mainstream development agencies considered empowerment as a means to enhance efficiency and productivity without altering the status quo; alternative development literature sees empowerment as a way of social transformation and achieving gender equality (Momsen 2004:14). Empowerment is generally seen as a development process that enables people to develop their positive self-image and confidence and therefore they actively participate in the decision-making process. Moreover, it develops the culture of a participatory approach to development and the habit of working with women and building organizational skills (Rawland 1997 cited in Momsen 2004:15). Jagar and Rohwer (2009:38) argue that basically empowerment is not something that can be done for women by the external agencies; instead it is the process through which women will become the agent of their own personal and institutional development. Rowland (1995:102) explained empowerment in relation to gaining power, as getting people into the decision making process in political structures, formal decision making process and in economic sphere such as on access to market and income-generating activities that enable them to influence in economic decision making process and at the same time empowerment enables people to maximize the opportunity available to them and challenge and overcome the existing structural constraints. According to Jagar and Rohwer (2009:38) women's empowerment includes interrelated and mutually reinforcing activities which include:

- Having awareness of women's situations such as discrimination, rights, opportunities, and build awareness on group identity and working together in group
- Having necessary skill and capacity to organize, plan, manage, and make decision and ability to deal with people and institutions
- Having the power to participate, control and decide at household, community and society levels
- Having the ability to take actions that bring greater equality between men and women

In a similar way, Charmes and Wieringa (2003:423) described empowerment as a process that includes elements such as consciousness-raising, availability of alternative choices, access to and control over resources, power to exercise their agency, and participate in decision making. Rowland (1995:102) also argued that women's empowerment is not simply getting them access to decision making; it is more about the processes that enable people to perceive themselves as having the ability and the right to take part and hold certain decision making positions and this is related to having *power to*—create new possibility and action, power to solve problem—and *power within,* which is individual mental and emotional strength and power relating to self-acceptance and self-respect (Williams et al 1994 cited in Tasli 2007:33).

Charmes and Wieringa (2003:421) discussed the process of empowerment in relation to the three dimensions of power in terms of mode of power operation: first power can be oppressive, that could be expressed in women's oppression and oppression that is exercised in various state institutions, at family and individual level; second power can also be challenging as in the case of counter power formation through women's movements; third power can be a creative force in the form of realisation of individuals potentials. Therefore, empowerment involves "exposing the oppressive power of the existing gender relations, critically challenging them, and creatively trying to shape different social relations" (Charmes and Wieringa 2003:421). Empowerment is a long-term and dynamic process that involves broader and deeper changes in the structures of economy, politics, and culture through increasing women's power to challenge those structures that perpetuate women's subordination (Tasli 2007:47). Feminist and other social theories indicated that the attribution of certain abilities to a particular set of people including ascription of women's subordination are socially constructed (Rowland 1995:102).

Understanding empowerment requires careful analysis of complex matrix because women's experiences of gender subordination varies due to variations in other factors such as class, race,

nationality, ethnicity cast, age and sexual orientation that mediated by different players at both micro-level such as family, household, community and grassroots organization and macro-level such as international and national institutions and agencies, states and market players (Tasli 2007:48). According to Rowland (1995:103) empowerment can have three dimensions:

i) Personal empowerment - empowerment that includes developing a sense of self-esteem, capacity and positive self-image and then challenges the internalized oppression,

ii) Empowerment of a close relationship - this involves "developing the ability to negotiate and influence the nature of the relationship and decision made within it,"

iii) Collective empowerment - this empowerment entails working together to have a greater impact through involvement in politics and undertaking collective actions based on a sense of cooperation than competition.

Increasing women's collective agency is very important to enhance individual woman's agency and challenge the status quo of existing institutions, markets and social norms that hamper greater gender equality (World Bank 2012:176).

In a more recent work by Cornwall and Rivas (2015:405), three important insights about empowerment were identified. First, empowerment is primarily about altering the existing power relations in which women have experienced oppression and injustices, not just by improving women's capacity to cope with these situations; instead, it is about enabling women to question and challenge what might previously have taken as normal and take action through collective action that brings a feeling of 'we can'; second, empowerment is a relational concept in terms of power relations in which people are located, where they either experienced disempowerment situation or acquire the ability to make strategic life choices and the relational concept empowerment might also depend on prior or future state; third, empowerment is a process, 'not an end point' as it has already been mentioned. Cornwall and Rivas (2015:406) further noted that the new versions of empowerment that appear in the contemporary international development policy documents mainly concerned with material acquisition as a means of empowering themselves and acquiring spending power for the benefits of their families, societies, and nations. World Development Report has also confirmed that increased women's economic opportunities, income autonomy and expansion of services can promote women's agency and empowerment to a lesser degree (World Bank 2012:15).

Women's empowerment will enhance women's agency – " [their] ability to make effective choices and transform those choices into desired outcomes…" and women's agencies can be expressed by the following outcomes as stated in World Bank (2012:150)

- Access to and control over resources - this can be measured in terms of women's ability to earn and control income and to spend and use.
- Mobility right - measured by the freedom of women to move outside of their homes without any restrictions
- Decision-making power over family formation - this is measured by the ability of women and girls to decide on the time of their marriage, the person to marry, time of bearing children, and the number of children they are going to have, and when and how to end marriage
- Free from the risk of violence - this can be measured the number of incidence of domestic violence, sexual harassment, physical, verbal or emotional violence
- Capability to be heard in the public sphere and influence policy - this can be measured by their level of participation and representation in formal public institutions such as politics and societal organizations.

To reinforce women's empowerment and gender equality and learn from countries experiences of promoting the equality of women and men different gender-related assessments and indices have been used such as Gender-related Development Index (GDI) of the UNDP, Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) of the UNDP and Gender Gap Index of the World Economic Forum (Jager & Rohwer 2009:38-39). Charmes and Wieringa (2003:427) also indicated that GDI and GEM are the two major instruments serve to assess the gender gap in the development of socioeconomics and politics.

2.4.1.1 Gender-Related Development Index (GDI)

The Gender-Related Development Index (GDI) developed by UNDP has been in use since 1995 on annual bases (Jager & Rohwer 2009:38). GDI was developed as a supplementary index to Human Development Index (HID) and concentrating to use the same variables as HDI but with special focuses on inequality between men and women (UNDP 1995:72). GDI was introduced as a gender-sensitive adjustment to HDI with aim to add a gender-sensitive measure to the HDI (Jager & Rohwer 2009:39).

Human development is "a process of enlarging people's choices" including the ability to live a healthy life, being educated and have a decent living standard (UNDP 1990:10). HDI was developed in 1990 with the aim of measuring the human development achievements of a country using both economic and social indicators and publish the result on the UNDP'S annual World Development

Report (Tasli 2007:57). In capturing the three essential elements of life (living long and healthy life, acquire education, and acceptable standard of living) UNDP's (1990) HDI particularly used the following indicators: first, longevity—life expectancy at birth which implies that long life that associates with adequate nutrition and good health is valuable; second, literacy which is an indication of access to education; third, access to resources such as land, credit, and other sources. However, measuring this indicator is the most difficult; hence, due to unavailability of data on these variables, per capita income has been used instead by adjusting the real GDP with purchase power parity. Based on the measure of the three essential elements mentioned above, the HDI reports countries' human development performances expressed as a value between 0 and 1, with 1 being the highest in human development achievement (Tasli 2007:57).

The Gender-Related Development Index and Gender Empowerment Idex (GID and GEM) are concerned with the measurement of gender inequality and their adverse effects on social progress using readily available data (UNDP 1995:72). GDI gives a single score that indicates inequality in the development achievement between women and men using indicators of life expectancy at birth, adult literacy rate, and estimated earned income (Jager & Rohwer 2009:37). The GDI uses the same indicators as the HID but measures the inequality gap between women's and men's achievements as well as the average development achievements of all people (UNDP 1995:72). The GDI is formulated through making adjustments on the indicators of the HDI – longevity, access to education and income in response to gender disparities.

The technique served here to penalize countries for the inequalities of gender in their achievements of essential elements of HDI (Tasli 2007, UNDP 1995). In countries with a higher prevalence of gender inequality, the HDI will be adjusted downwards/ discounted. This implies the higher the gender disparity in achievement of basic HDI dimensions, the lower the country's GDI value compared to its HDI value and In most cases GDI value is lower than the HDI value as gender inequality exists in almost every country, therefore, there is always considerable differences between country's GDI ranking and HDI ranking. In other words, GDI value declines whenever the achievements of both men and women fall or whenever there is a greater gender disparity in the achievements exists (UNDP 1995:73). Therefore, countries with lower GDI ranking have higher gender inequalities in their achievements of basic development essentials and countries with higher GDI ranking have lower gender disparities in their basic achievements; however, it doesn't mean there is gender parity in countries with higher GDI ranking. Countries may have gender disparities in factors beyond the three basics (life expectancy, education, and adjusted income) (Tasli 2007:60). For

instance, UNDP (1995:72) pointed out that both GDI and GEM capture only measurable basic essentials and they don't deal with other important dimensions of gender inequality such as participation in social life, decision making power, resource use within the family, level of self-esteem, and personal security which determine women's relative status and the level of quality of their lives.

2.4.1.2 Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)

The gender empowerment measure (GEM) uses three indicators such as women's participation in politics, women's access to professional work, and their earning capacity. Therefore, women's participation in political decision making, their engagement in professional opportunities and increased power of earnings are good indications of the women's empowerment level according to the GEM index (UNDP 1995:71). In short it focuses on measuring women's political representation, their accusation of professional and management positions and their earning power by providing single value calculated particularly from indicators such as number of women's seats in a parliament, number of women's legislators, managers and higher officials, as well as number of women professionals and technicians; a comparison of female's and male's earned income that can be expressed in ratio of female to male earned income (Jager & Rohwer 2009). According to Tasli (2007:60-61), EM focuses on measuring women's participation in three major areas: women's representation in politics and their participation in political decision making; availability of professional opportunities for women and their active participation in the decision making on the issues related to economy; women's access to economic resources and earned income. In short, GEM is all about measuring women's participation in social, political and economic issues (Charmes & Wieringa 2003:428). However, GEM not only focuses on measuring women's access to and participation in political, social and economic life but also assesses their level of engagement and participation in those spheres (UNDP 1995:73).

Table 2.2 Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)

GME key focus areas	What to measure
1. Political participation and decision-making power	measured by women's and men's percentage shares of parliamentary seats

2. Economic participation and decision-making power	Measured by two indicators: 1.Women's and men's percentage shares of positions as legislators, senior officials and managers; 2. Women's and men's percentage shares of professional and technical positions
3. Power over economic resources	measured by women's and men's estimated earned income

Source : constructed from Jager and Rohwer 2009 40-41

As Tasli (2007:61) argues that since GEM differs from GID in the variables used and its construction; its values are not necessarily comparable with GDI values. For instance, there is difference between GID and GEM on how to treat income variable, in the GEM income is seen as an engine to attain economic power that enables people to have broader options to choose, unlike that it is evaluated in GDI for its contribution in the achievement of basic needs longer life, literacy and freedom from poverty (UNDP 1995:82). It was further noted that like in the GDI in GEM, income level is a good indication of a family's earning power, the level of their independence, and economic performance rewards; however, it doesn't reflect the disparity of income or use of income within the household members, therefore the income level of the household doesn't necessarily reflect gender equality and women's empowerment (UNDP 1995:75). Charmes and Wieringa (2003:432) identified the following limitations of GEM: it uses income as source of power and it doesn't take into account its contribution to basic development; it lacks reliability in the sense that it measures women's political power by their share of parliamentary seats as if parliament is always the source of power in a country; in GEM other important issues such women's rights, care, religious, cultural, and ethical issues are left out.

2.5 Sustainable development framework in achieving gender equality and women's empowerment: a move from Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

Academics, feminists, activists, and policymakers genuinely committed to realizing the universal human rights are derived by the common agenda of gender equity, equality, and empowerment of

women and girls (Koehler 2016:54). In the development agenda gender equality remains a priority from the fundamental human right perspective as well as its importance for economic growth (OECD 2010:11). While in general, there has been significant worldwide improvement in achieving gender equality, in many countries women still face unequal and subordinate social, economic, and political power relations: they are unprivileged in terms of access to productive resources (land, credit facilities), access to productive employment and decent work, access to market for their produces and they have still limited civil liberties in some countries and they remain vulnerable to violence in unrest situations (Santiso 2010:4). Therefore, they represent a disproportionate number of the poorest and most marginalized people (Stuart & Woodroffe 2016:70).

The course of development shows that development policymakers and planners largely focused on the economic growth and eradication of absolute poverty without giving much attention to other social discriminations and marginalization. In this, the MDG has been criticised for its limitations. Stuart and Woodroffe (2016:69) discuss that the MDGs have made some progress in gender equality, specifically against specific indicators. For instance, MDGs have achieved remarkable results in addressing gender disparities in primary, secondary and tertiary education enrolments. However, there are critical areas where progress has been limited. It is believed that in MDGs, the progress against indicators have benefited the relatively well-off people. The most vulnerable and marginalized are neglected as they are usually omitted from the household surveys that inform researchers and policymakers (Stuart & Woodroffe 2016:69-70). Kabeer argues that since the Millennium, progress towards women's rights and gender equality was limited, and the system has also failed to identify economic factors that further aggravate women's marginalization and poverty (Kabeer 2015).

In the MDGs, the development approach in general and women's rights and gender equality, in particular, were overlooked (Esquivel & Sweetman 2016:3). For this, the MDGs were called "Minimum Development" (Harcourt 2005 cited in Esquivel & Sweetman 2016), this implies that the MDGs were drafted by bureaucrats in a conventional top-down fashion with minimal process of consultation from the concerned bodies. The MDGs have conceived development narrowly as poverty alleviation through which basic human needs will be met (Fukuda-Parr 2016: 45) with minimal references to those factors that continue to exacerbate inequality and moreover, in MDGs poverty is addressed separately from peace and human rights (Esquivel & Sweetman 2016).

Fukuda-Parr (2016) summarizes that the MDGs have been criticized for their shortcomings in many ways: First, from the beginning they were not welcomed by the governments that considered them as means of aids conditionality. Second, MDGs were focused on meeting basic needs for all;

without recognizing power relations in which poverty is embedded and exacerbated by neoliberal economic model which favours corporate profit over human rights. Third, human rights organizations, civil society organizations, and other activists have criticized the MDGs for their limitations in addressing inequalities, omission of issues such as women's reproductive health, governance, conflicts, employment and many others' objectives; weak goals on global partnership, and limited ambition in the targets.

The fact that MDGs usually propose technocratic fixes and implementations to every problem, assuming that economy and technology can solve all the problems of the society is also a source of criticism (Razavi 2016, Fukuda-Parr 2016). Despite MDGs have played a significant role on global poverty issues, through taking lead the mobilization and integration of international actions on poverty; gender-based inequality and discrimination remain a significant factor undermining progress in many contexts in general and an impediment to the achievement of women's rights in particular (UN Women 2013).

The UN member states adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) on 15th of September 2015 that substitute the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by providing the new global framework for achieving sustainable development in its three dimensions: economic, social and environmental (Esquivel & Sweetman 2016, Rosche 2016). The idea of SDGs first emerged from the 2012 Rio +20 Conference held on the debate of the successor of MDGs in which environmental ministers from countries in both global North and South particularly middle-income countries' have taken part (Fukuda-Parr 2016:44). Basically, the need for the sustainable development framework is grounded in the commitments of the successive international agreements that have been tremendously important, in influencing policy decisions and resource flows for social goods, serving as 'rallying cry' for those campaigner against injustices and marginalization and influencing towards combating structural barriers (Esquivel & Sweetman 2016:2). The notable international treaties that can be mentioned in this regard include: the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW); the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in which policy commitments such as Program of Action was agreed by 179 countries; the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women that brought about Beijing Declaration for Action (UN Women 2013, see also Esquivel 2016). As predecessor of the sustainable development framework, each element of this international treaty has been served as inducement to influence policymakers and governments in holding them to account (Esquivel & Sweetman 2016:3).

"Sustainable development implies thinking about new forms of sustainable production, consumption, and distribution patterns. It requires redistribution of wealth, power, work, and time" (Ponte & Enriquez 2016:84). With the "Leaving No-one Behind" concept of inclusion, the SDGs will achieve a major breakthrough as a new way of approaching development, if it follows with genuine commitments from civil societies, advocacies and inter-governmental cooperation and negotiations (Stuart & Woodroffe 2016:70).

SDGs are different from the MDGs, not only in the number of goals and targets, but also in their purpose, concept and political agenda (Fukuda-Parr 2016:44). According to this author, first MDGs were North-South aid agenda. It was a means through which the ministers and development agencies' head seeking a new rationale for aid in the context of neoliberal globalization. Esquivel and Sweetman (2016:10) also pointed out that in addition to their aid driven approach to poverty reduction, MDGs are criticized for their exclusive emphasis on the outcome with little or no concerns on policies and strategies on how to implement. In contrast to this the SDGs represent a global agenda for sustainable development with universal goals that set targets for all the poor and the rich. Second, MDGs had narrow conception of development by focusing on poverty as a means to meet basic needs. In contrast, the SDGs are wider in their scope, aspirations, and vision of development than their predecessors MDGs' narrow focus on poverty (Esquivel & Sweetman 2016:1).

This implies that the SDG agenda has partially transformed the notion of development from a merely economic process to holistically conceptualize form of development that includes social, political and ecological dimensions (Koehler 2016:54). The SDGs aim to realise the fundamental human rights, and recognize the complex links between inequality, marginalization, and poverty (Fukuda-Parr 2016, Esquivel & Sweetman 2016). In sustainable development thinking the assumption about the direct automatic links between economic growth and gender equality is not usually acceptable; it rather assess the patterns of economic growth in terms of the distributional effects on gender, race, and age; its effect on employment; and its impact on environment and on global inequality (Ponte & Enriquez 2016:84). Third, the MDGs were drafted and formulated by technocrats with limited consultation with other sources of knowledge and expertise including women, men, girls, and boys whom the program is targeting. In contrast, in the formulation of the SDGs, immense contributions were made by many different groups from civil societies, prominent women's rights activists, and advocates (Esquivel & Sweetman 2016:1).

SDGs are developed over two years through a transparent consultation process and recognizing the importance of member states engagement particularly middle-income countries and the civil

society's involvement (Esquivel 2016:10). Moreover, SDGs are informed by mindful set up of the process of political negotiation and agreement among the states (Fukuda-Parr 2016:47). Ponte and Enriquez (2016:85), Rosche (2016:112) suggested that in the 2030 Agenda for sustainable development there are indications that gender equality and women's empowerment are within reach. First, gender equality and women and girls' empowerment included as one of the standalone goals of the SDGs in SDG number 5, second there are also specific gender targets on different goals, third the presence of concrete means of implementation, fourth the positive outcome of the Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAA) Conference on the Financing for Development that has shown more commitments for gender equality and women's empowerment. The need for a standalone gender equality goal in SDGs was based on "strong consensus reached among the international community including UN Member State and civil society organizations;" however, there were strong discussions on the targets and indicators for the standalone gender equality goal (Rosche 2016:116).

2.5.1 The Gender aspect in SDGs

The link between gender, specifically women's issues and sustainable development, is related to the fact that in the global production chain, women commonly work in risky areas of production in situations that expose them to hazardous subsistence harmful for their health, hence, for women shifting towards sustainability is not only about general humanity objective; but there is also a gendered interest objective in it (Koehler 2016:56). Therefore, there are gender elements in all SDGs because it is obvious that economic, ecological, social, and political issues are not gender-neutral.

In line with this, the post-2015 development framework and SDGs, the UN Women calls for "specific commitment to achieve gender equality, women's rights and women's empowerment…. as well as robust mainstreaming of gender across all parts of the frameworks" (UN Women 2013:2). The feminists' experiences of analysing class inequalities through the gender lens also first appeared to be more of economic in nature. However, the current moment of rapid income growth and inequality of wealth in both developed and developing nations have made policymakers and development planners to turn their attention to inequalities of various kinds. Thus the issue of gender and development mainly focuses on these various kinds of inequalities (Kabeer 2015:189).

In Agenda 2030, after a wide range of consultations and extensive comments from civil society organizations, women's rights organizations and their networks, academics, and international organizations such as UN agencies, it was agreed that gender equality should be a standalone goal, rather than mainstreaming it in other SDGs. Three justifications were given for this: first, gender-based inequalities and discriminations are pervasive in almost all societies, hence issue of gender

equality is universal problem; second, gender equality can be served as instrumental for the fact that without gender equality as catalyst; it is hardly possible to achieve human development, ecological sustainability, good governance and sustained peace, Rosche put this in other words "SDG 5 is also a prerequisite to delivering the wider SDG framework and Agenda 2030" (Rosche 2016:119); third, the presence of gender equality in the agenda can ensure the government accountability of responding to these areas (Razavi 2016:30).

The 2030 Agenda for sustainable development framework is established on a rights-based approach to development, poverty, and inequality. In line with this the standalone gender equality goal is a more comprehensive way to make meaningful contributions in addressing gender inequalities and identifying and prioritizing existing gender gaps, making it more likely gender equality and women's empowerment as a milestone for the realisation of women's rights will be achieved (Rosche 2016:116). SDGs make significant contributions in drawing attention to key structural constraints that restrain women from achieving their human rights (Razavi 2016:25). The critical target areas omitted in the MDG3 took priority in the standalone gender equality goal (SDG5); these are: i) violence against women and girls, ii) unequal distributions of capabilities in the areas of knowledge, access to resources and opportunities, unpaid domestic and care work, iii) sexual and reproductive health rights, iv) gender equality in decision making power at all levels of private and public spheres (UN Women 2013:3). Although SDG5 (Achieve Gender Equality and Empower All Women and Girls) doesn't explicitly refer to women's human rights in its title, it involves most of the key strategic elements required by women's rights organizations in its target (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3 The adopted standalone gender equality goal, targets, and means of implementations

SDG5	Specific targets of SDG 5	Means of Implementation
Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls	5.1 End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation	5a Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws
	5.2 Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public	

	5.3 Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation	5b Enhance the use of enabling technology, in particular information and communications technology, to promote the empowerment of women
	5.4 Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate	
	5.5 Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life	5c Adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels
	5.6 Ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights as agreed in accordance with the Program of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome documents of their review conferences	

Source : Rosche 2016, page 121

It was already mentioned that in all SDGs there are gender elements in it. Razavi (2016) explained that there are targets under other SDGs that complement the targets of SDG5. For instance, target 6.1 under SDG 6—achieving universal and equitable access to safe and affordable drinking water—is a complement for the target on unpaid domestic and care work of SDG5 (5.4) and other strategic targets contributing to addressing gender inequalities and women's human rights are the target 'full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men, and equal pay for work of equal value under Goal 8(8.5); and the target social protection for all under Goal 1(3).

In this new way of approaching development the "Leaving no one behind" idea as Stuart and Woodroffe (2016:70) pointed out implies two things: first, inequalities that are not based on income such as discrimination and marginalization of disabled and ethnic minority women will be addressed, and second, the government is expected to do more efforts in making progress on marginalized groups more quickly than the average. On Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAAA), financing for development conference gender equality and women's empowerment have received more attention through including gender equality related references in its different sections of the document (Ponte & Enriquez 2016:85). For instance, in this document, "women's full and equal participation in the economy is recognized" and the need for governments to reinitiate gender mainstreaming as the

integration of gender equality in development analysis, policy formulation and targeted actions is emphasized.

2.5.2 The challenges and opportunities of the 2030 Agenda for sustainable development

Scholars have different views on the viability of SDGs. For instance, as Esquivel indicates in her a feminist analysis, despite its potential for progress on gender equality and women's right, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development vision is not always accompanied by bold enough language, stringent policies, and ample resource provisions such as funding. Therefore, there is scepticism on the transformative potential of the agenda 2030, because the mere technocratic exercise of the Agenda is far from realizing the transformative potential of the agenda in just 15 years (Esquivel 2016:9). Esquivel further argues that considering the 17 goals and 169 targets that can be applied to all countries, the SDGs are ambitious. In SDGs despite there are broad scope and structural concern goals and targets; there are no clear policies in place on how to achieve these goals and targets (Razavi 2016:25). Moreover, on some critical and contested issues, the SDGs hardly advance the agenda beyond rhetoric common languages known for decades (Razavi 2016:25).

Another challenge about sustainable development remain on how to make economic growth responsive towards sustainable and equality oriented production, consumption and distribution patterns which require huge financial sectors commitments and the reorientation of the monitory policy in making the economy real contribution to social progress, better standard of living, sustainability and equality (Ponte & Enriquez 2016:84). Razavi (2016:25) indicates that the SDGs and the gender equality goal visions may be difficult to realise unless the economic model is reformed and mechanisms for stronger accountability are in place.

Achieving the ambition SDGs in general and realisation of women's rights in particular requires, huge resources, real commitment, accountability, and concrete actions in all economic, social and political spheres to effectively tackle structural barriers that hold back the realisation of gender equality and women's empowerment (Rosche 2016:119). Ponte and Enriquez (2016:86) pointed out that global macro-economic activities, policy frameworks, and institutions may hinder or limit the realisation of women's human rights through these institutions are not gender-neutral because gender power relations are embedded in them. For instance, the process of globalization and privatization has led to flexible work and precarious labour conditions and the promotion of free trade and foreign direct investment resulted in resource depletion, displacement of people, and deterioration in women's livelihoods.

Therefore, macroeconomic policies, institutions, and development patterns may perpetuate gender inequality. For other scholars like Koehler SDGs are not ambitious and they have a systematic policy approach that involves a number of commitments to gender equality. Therefore, it was concluded that despite it has been criticized as too vague to implement, SDGs are attainable through incorporating other supportive and progressive conventions and declarations that support their implementation (Koehler 2016:53). Rosche, in her analysis of Agenda 2030 from the Oxfam perspective, argues that Agenda 2030 in general and the gender equality goal, in particular, has no ambition to replace the Beijing Platform for Action or the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

Rather, the ambition of SDGs and standalone gender equality goal are more related to the need for policy reformation and accountability for realizing women's right. Rosche further suggested that the gender equality goal (SDG5) needs to be considered as a mechanism to achieve Beijing Platform and CEDAW than to replace them (Rosche 2016:119). This means the implementation of Beijing Platform and CEDAW may be measured by SDG5 as the two prior conventions have monitoring and the accountability gaps - they have limited targets, they did not have timeframe or indicators to monitor the achievements, and the limited availability of data and reviews have exposed the framework for accountability gaps as well (Rosche 2016:119). Kohler (2016:55) noted that SDGs don't address the systemic issues such as question of what development is and how development can be best achieved. They do, however, make an indirect reference to the multi-dimensional nature of poverty which indicates that poverty is an economic, social, political, and ecological issue that can be addressed through various interventions.

2.6 Gender employment and decent work in agriculture and value chain

Exploring gender gaps in employment and decent work in the agriculture value chain is crucial to understand gender equality and the level of women's empowerment. In Sub Saharan Africa countries in general and in Ethiopia, in particular, the majority of rural people are employed in agricultural sector through formal employment, informal non-standard employment, and family labour.

Although the working conditions in agricultural sector in Ethiopia is generally poor, the worst working conditions tend to be found at the production level of the value chains where the majority of women are employed. Therefore, the employment and decency level inevitably varies by gender.

2.6.1 The role of women in agriculture and gender inequality

As mentioned earlier, the problem of gender inequality in the agricultural sector was recognized since 1970 with the breakthrough work of Ester Boserup who wrote a book titled – *Women's role in economic development*. With this book Boserup mainly contributed to the recognitions of the division of labor between men and women in agricultural production; acknowledging the economic importance of the women's labor contributions in the household and informal economy which eventually contribute to the national economy (Royal Tropical Institute (KIT), Agri-Pro-Focus & International Institute of Rural Reconstruction (IIRR) 2012:14). In many countries, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, women comprise the larger share of farmers or producer; however, in most cases, their roles are not well recognized and in other areas feminization of agriculture have become a common phenomenon, due to migration and HIV and AIDS effects on rural population. As a result, women increasingly become major actors in the agricultural sector (Beck 2009:2).

Women in the rural areas have huge contributions in overall household food production and the household members and many other people depend on women's hard work to access their food through engaging in most agricultural activities such as land preparation, planting, hoeing, weeding, harvesting, threshing, winnowing, storing, transporting, processing and marketing (Moussa, Wen, Wu, Diakite, Gerson & Wang, H. 2011:141). Manchon and Macleod (2010:373) argue that the problem of food security can only be addressed whenever women farmers receive equal treatment and recognition as economic agents in their own right. Therefore, rural women play critical roles in ensuring household food security through attaining availability, accessibility, and utilization of food (FAO 2013). Women get access to food in three main ways:

i) Own production: Whenever they have access to productive resources such as land, livestock, and other assets. Having access to these resources might contribute to enhance their autonomy and empowerment;

ii) Through purchase: When they have income from on-farm or off-farm waged employment;

iii) Through redistribution: As a social protection mechanism initiated by the government and NGOs or through informal solidarity within the community (FAO 2013:44).

Agriculture plays an important role in many countries' economic growth and poverty reduction; however, its performance has been restrained partly because women usually face gender-based constraints that reduce their productivity, despite this, they constitute 43% of the agricultural labour force globally (FAO 2011:1). The share of women in rural employment is even higher than men despite their productivity being lower (Lortie 2012:190). Contrary to the common empirical

observation which states smaller farmers produce more output per unit area than larger farmers, women farmers who generally work on small land plots produce lower yield per unit area (Githinji et al 2014:101).

It is argued that women are not inferior farmers and entrepreneurs to men; instead, the gender-based disparity in labour force productivity and earnings are mainly the result of unequal access of opportunities for instance access to education and training between men and women that leads to differences in the economic activities (World Bank 2012:198). Research conducted in Bangladesh revealed that unequal power relations between men and women has also led to low agricultural productivity of women farmers, unequal use and distribution of food within the household and knowledge gap in improved nutrition practices which altogether have resulted in food insecurity (Hillenbrand 2010:411).

Women farmers are always on the disadvantaged side in access to economic opportunities in three ways: in time use that relates to their care responsibility, in access to productive resources such as land and credit service and in market and institutional failures to respond to women's need (World Bank 2012:198). Githinji et al (2014:104) gave four major explanations why output per unit of land for women farmers is lower than men farmers. The first possible explanation is differences in access to and control of labor. Women's plots receive less labour and other inputs such as access to draft animals. Second, there are differences in tenure insecurity that can be explained in two ways: women farmers lacking a title to their land (outside of traditional western ownership standards) and women only gaining access to land through their relationship to men regardless of the possession of the title security.

The third reason why women farmers produce lower yield per unit area than men farmers is differences in access to farm support services such as availability of credit and access to inputs where men are favoured over women. The fourth reason is produce strategy, that is, men farmers are more likely produce a cash crop and women farmers produce crops for consumption rather than primarily for market. Jafry and Sulaiman (2013:433) argue that women farmers receive less extension advisory services such as new information, knowledge, or technology than men farmers, because traditionally the extension system is male-dominated and targets mostly male farmers with larger landholdings. For instance, empirical finding in Nigeria has confirmed that women are more constrained than men in accessing agricultural information technology, inputs and other supportive services. Added to this, the assumption of regarding some crops as men's crop and others as women's has also important implication on the effect of food production as well as for accessing information, inputs and other

services as these services are primarily targeted the so-called men's crops (Mohammed & Abulkadir 2012:241).

Research conducted on maize market participation as net sellers in Ethiopia revealed that male-headed households (MHH) outnumbered by 65% than female-headed household (FHH) mainly due to differences in resource endowments and other supportive social networks; nevertheless, the ability to take net seller position of the household in agricultural marketing is good indicator for achieving economic empowerment (Marenya, Kassie, Jaleta & Rahut, 2017:481).The authors concluded that lower market participation may be linked to the lower productivity of the household.

Worldwide, women usually engage in low-productivity jobs, they own small plots of farmlands, they administer small businesses, they are disproportionally represented in unpaid family works and in the informal sector work, they rarely hold higher positions in the labour market (World Bank 2012:198). Rural women work in "precarious and temporary work related to seasonal agricultural activities" and sometimes engage in rural employment of non-agricultural activities (Lortie 2012:190). This could be partly because women have less access to formal education and other knowledge and skill-based training which leave them in disempowered state where they are unable to make decision autonomously on their lives and articulate their needs and aspirations (Jafry & Sulaiman 2013:433).

In the same vein, Mudege, Chevo, Nyekanyeka, Kapalasa, and Demo (2016:299) identified that existing restraining factors such as gender role expectations and gender stereotype, societal norms that restricting women's mobility and decision making power could affect women's participation in training and furthermore most agricultural training is focused on more technical exercise of teaching agricultural innovations to men and women and in most cases the contents of social issues that hinder women from benefiting are missing.

Women's empowerment can be achieved through participating in agricultural training; however, the extent to which this training contributes to empowering women depends on the underlying social structures informing gender roles. For instance, women's participation in training doesn't help if they don't have power to decide on the adoption of the technology and marketing of produces (Mudege et al 2016:302). Doss, Summerfield, and Tsikata (2014:9) revealed that compared to men, women have limited rights over land. They are not usually recognized as owners of the land in their household or their community and their rights over land differ from those of men. The common assumption held by the society which authorizes land rights to mostly men has left women voiceless in the process of land acquisition (Githinjii et al 2014:101).

Furthermore, women are underrepresented and marginalized in an avenue such as rural organizations where they can have some influences in demanding their rights and challenging existing assumptions and norms through collective action, as these organizations are usually male-dominated consequently women's voices are overlooked (Manchon & Macleod 2010:373). Doss, Summerfield, and Tsikata (2014:9) noted that women's right over land can be seen distinctly in terms of women's access to ownership of and control over land where access to land typically means that woman has the right to use the land to produce food products for her family and may be able to sell a small portion of the produce.

Ownership of land refers to the right to have formal title to land and alienation rights (the right to transfer land in the form of sale, rental, inheritance, and control over land refers to the right to manage land, the right to decide on how to use the land and may also include alienation and exclusion right (right to prevent others from using the land). Chanamuto and Hall (2015:519) argue that although it has been well-accepted fact that promoting women's involvement in agriculture will increase the productivity of agricultural sector and address the problem of the shortage of food and improve rural livelihoods; generally women face problems in accessing capital, extension advice and other inputs, and in most cases they are not included in the decision making process. Moreover, women farmers constrained by physical, financial, political, and social barriers to access potential market and consequently receive meagre earnings from their produce.

In developing countries, globalization, market reforms, and neoliberal policies have increasingly threatened the lives of rural households particularly those previously marginalized groups are now encountering new challenges that affect their livelihoods through losing their lands and changing access due the expansion of "large-scale land acquisition and consolidation often referred to as land grabs"(Githinji et al 2014:102). Keating (2004:4) argues that poor people have been negatively affected by trade and liberalization; the burden on poor women has been particularly high and adds to gender discrimination and inequality. For instance, the same source indicated that as a result of the impact of trade liberalization in many countries, the cost of living has raised, social provisioning has reduced, leaving women doing more unpaid work in the household, and access to basic services such as nutritional standards have declined. Rural women have lost their livelihood due to expansion of export-oriented production.

2.6.2 Gender and employment in agriculture value chain

"The Washington Consensus Era of Private Sector Development Policies Limitations and Deficits to Growth and Employment" gave rise to the value chain development as strategy to offer correction and amendments to these limitations and has become the main pillar in the post-Washington Consensus era which recognizes the importance of active roles of the states and development agencies in making market work for all assuming that participation in value chain market a means and end of development (Werner, Bair, & Fernández 2014:1242).

In developing countries, poor people can be integrated into the development programs through the push strategies that include intentionally integrated and subsidized activities such as goods, services, and capacity building and pull strategies that are led by market incentives which generate economic opportunities and demand for smallholder production, labour, and services. However, the integration of poor in the development program through push/pull strategies requires careful consideration of intra-household dynamics and gender equality (Norell, Lawson-Lartego, White, Bante, & Conn 2015:46). While there are two concerns in the debate on African agriculture. First, there are potential roles in fostering agricultural development. Second, the ability of the food production and export sectors to generate pro-poor growth. It is obvious that there is a growing potential of African agriculture from just on-farm consumption to market transactions due to future demand of these commodities powered by increased commercialization and urbanization (Diao, Hazell, & Thurlow 2010:1376).

The concept of value chain emerged in the literature in the mid-1990s and has contributed to our understanding of how to integrate smallholder farmers in developing countries into global markets. However, most value chain studies barely document the impacts of value chain on gender, poverty, and environment and altogether value chain has not been pro-poor that concerned particularly with constraints and opportunities faced by marginalized smallholder famers in the integration of global market (Bolwig, Ponte, Du Toit, Riisgaard & Halberg 2008: iv). Global value chain research overlooked broader issues related to the participation of marginalized poor people in value chains by narrowly focusing on functional upgrading, assuming that the limitation of upgrading and inclusion as management and competency problems. But this assumption undermines the existence of unequal power relations in agricultural value chains wherein the dominant power is located in the downstream of the value chain (Bolwig et al 2010: 174). As Riisgaard, Bolwig, Ponte, Du Toit, Halberg, and Matose (2010:196) explain, upgrading in narrow context refers to the "possibilities for producer to move up the value chain."

Riisgaard, Fibla, and Ponte (2010:6) describe the concept of value chain as "full range of activities that firms, farms and workers do to bring a product from its conception to its end use and beyond." In agriculture, the term value chain refers to "the set of actors and activities that bring a basic agricultural product from production in the field to final consumption, where at each stage value is added to the product" (Khasa & Msuya 2016 2016:14). In today's globalized world, Kaplinsky and Morris(2000:9) pointed out that the value chain approach is found to be important in three ways: first, it enhances the competitiveness of the business firm in the frontier of increased division of labour and rising of production options.

Second, it increases production efficiency of the firm which believed to be the necessary condition for entry into the global market. Third, it ensures entry into the global market that guarantees sustained income growth. Though value chain development has been widely recognized as vital approach to raise the production and productivity of smallholder and poor farmers and thereby increased income; the recognition of gender dynamics in value chain development is a recent phenomenon (KIT, Agri-ProFocus & IIRR. 2012:14). These authors further suggested that in value chain gender issues need to be addressed for two main reasons: first, from justice perspective both women and men have the right to gain benefits from the value chain outcomes; second, from an economic perspective, the inclusion of both male and female in the value chain will reinforce the value chain to achieve better outcomes.

Mayoux and Mackie (2007:5) revealed that pro-poor growth value chain analysis is increasingly being used as a methodology for identifying effective strategies of value chain development, developing mechanisms for upgrading value chain, and enhancing its competence at local, regional, and international market and fulfilling equity by improving the situations of those currently disadvantaged in the value chain. Moreover, researchers use value chain analysis to better understand why very poor people are not being reached by the benefits of globalization. Value chain analysis is about analysing value chain's structure, actors and dynamics which specifically include performing activities such as identifying chain actors, examining the typologies of actors, the linkage between them and the extent of their inclusion or exclusion in the value chain, their participation level and the reward they receive, functional-based division of labour and its dynamics along the chain, the distribution of value-added activities and benefits along the chain (Bolwig et al 2008:1).

Bhattarai and Leduc (2009:1) argued that so far most value chain development programs were focused on the economic aspects of the development and they disregarded the gender aspects and other social dimensions. Engendering a value chain is important because in any enterprises both men

and women add value in the production, processing, marketing, and distribution of the benefits. Moreover, the rationale for engendering the value chain is that it enhances the contributions of the development program to local people's livelihoods and increase ecologically sustainable resource use as knowledge and skills of women and men are equally important in improving livelihoods and managing resources (Bhattarai & Leduc 2009:2).

Mayoux and Mackie (2007:5-6) emphasized the importance of gender analysis within the value chain as it is the 'weakest link' and ignored in most value chain analysis, arguing that despite both men and women being involved in different levels of the chain as producers, entrepreneurs, marketers, and consumers, the contributions of women in the chain is often less visible and sometimes may be ignored in both value chain analysis and development. For instance, domestic works and seasonal works are often overlooked in value chain analysis; despite they are main components of the value chain and essential for upgrading the value chain. Gender analysis is also important to explain why there is a gender disparity in dominating particular activity in the chain by men or women, under what circumstances productive employment will be created for women in the value chain, and what supportive services can be provided to women to enhance their economic contribution.

In these processes, understanding gender inequalities are often important to explain how certain activities in the chain remains an obstacle to growth. Without gender analysis strategies for upgrading the value chain, women may be further disadvantaged by ignoring women altogether in development interventions or in favouring perception of men's ownership and rights. For instance, studies in Africa show that women working in agricultural sector mostly receive lower share of income than men (Katothya 2017, FAO 2016) mainly because women take the peripheral position in the value chain where they usually engage in seasonal temporary agricultural jobs which often pay lower wages and 'unremunerated' family labour. The same study reported that in the Ethiopian coffee sector women provide 75% of labour while they receive 34% of the income generated from coffee production. This implies that despite their huge contribution in agricultural sectors women receive the minimal benefits and are often less credited.

Other empirical research finding conducted in three major horticultural exporting African countries (South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Kenya) has revealed that women comprise 50% to 75% of the total employment and they are involved in the most significant activities that are valuable to quality of the final products such as picking and packing and other value-added processing activities, however they are concentrated in seasonal and informal employment characterized by long hours intensive work, limited opportunities to meet other domestic responsibilities, limited social provision, and

maternity leave (Barrientos, Dolan & Tallontire 2003:1514). As Ferm (2008:16) puts women workers are more likely given short-term contracts than men workers in asparagus production where workers are not entitled to receive insurance, leave and social protection coverage as well as rarely participate in training. Other studies also confirmed that there are gender inequities in value chain that can be explained in the form of inequitable pay, uneven protection of workers' health and safety, sexual violence, lack of recognition for women's reproductive works (Loconto 2015:192).

Different reasons that can be given for the prevalence of informal employment relation of women in agricultural sector: the need for flexible production strategies adopted by African firms to be competitive in the world market, the need to transfer risks of production from producers to workers when adverse conditions and market price risks encounter, the existence of gender inequalities embodied and transmitted in the labour market (Barrientos et al 2003:1515). Besides, informal employment can be partially explained by the nature of the sector in which the intensity of the tasks in agriculture vary seasonally or at different production stages that prevent consistency in working hours and number of workers needed (Ferm 2008, Dolan Humphrey 2000 cited in Barrientos et al 2003).

Men and women have different levels of participation in value chain development and gain different benefits from the value chain, depending on the variations in accessing productive resources, level of education and the nature of the economy and socio-cultural norms (Coles & Mitchell 2010:1). In most cases of value chain operations, women are underprivileged compared to men (Riisgaard, Fibla & Ponte 2010:7). Participation in value chain is often gendered structures because men and women engage in different activities in the value chain and women often participate in a fewer activities and hold marginal positions due to the following three major reasons: (i) gender variations in time use, mainly due to women's primary responsibilities for reproductive work; (ii) gender variations in access to productive inputs and assets such as land, improved seeds, fertilizers, credit facilities, training and information networks; (iii) market and institutional failures and discriminations, leading to disadvantaging women over men (Farnworth, Kantor, Kruijssen, Longley & Colverson 2015).

It is argued that access to safe, productive, and fair paid work is essential to attain sustained well-being, economic growth and social cohesion (Oya 2015). Gender equality in the labour force participation in agriculture in general and in the value chain of commercial agricultural production, in particular, is crucially important because it enhances women's economic empowerment, improves agricultural sector's potential to drive inclusive economic growth, improves household food security,

creates employment opportunities for women and men, and it contributes to achieving the global commitment of "the UN Sustainable Development Goals of eradicating poverty, boosting sustainable economic growth and feeding the growing population" (Zakaria 2017:142).

Analysing gender in value chain is not only about matters relating to women, it needs to be conceptualized in relation to gendered power dynamics around who is doing and getting what in the context of available the critical gender issue in the community and gender policy institutions (Laven, Van Eerdewijk, Senders, van Wees & Snelder 2009:6). Related studies also show that analysing women's position in the value chain and promoting their empowerment could not be achieved without understanding men's position and masculinity in a given context which might have positive or negative effects on the promotion of the empowerment of women (Wyrod 2008; Riisgaard et al 2010). Wyrod further explained that analysing masculinity is not meant for understanding men's lives per se; instead it is about "to draw on men's perspectives to illuminate tensions between masculinity, women's rights, and gender equality" (Wyrod 2008:808).

Besides, the intra-household power relations that can be expressed in terms of gendered division of labour, access to and control over the productive resources and incomes needs to be considered in relation to the wider cultural and social practices (Riisgaard et al 2010:7). For many years the vast majority of researches on gender disparities focus on female headed households and the gender differentials within the household were given less attention. However, evidence shows there are differences among household members in accessing and controlling resources depending on the power relations within the households (Dito 2011:1). There are variations in individual preferences and influences within the households which have implications for the rest of the household members "The allocation of available household resources is based on a bargaining process in which the outcome is determined by the bargaining power of household members" (Seebens 2011:5).

Within the household, there is unequal access and control over resources specifically between males and females that can be translated into variations in consumption, education, and health outcomes (Dito 2011:2). The gender differences of men dominated production of high-value crops and women dominated production of food crops can be explained by differences in access to assets and market services between men and women; otherwise women are as productive as men and receive similar price with men if they use the same resources and have equal access to market outlet (Hill & Vigneri 2011 cited in Zakaria 2017:144).

In their case study analysis, Laven et al (2009:4) found out that there are three main areas where value chain and gender overlap. These points of junctions are also considered as opportunities for

promoting women's empowerment or threats for exacerbating the existing gender power relations. According to the authors these area of intersections are: the sexual division of labour in value chain and intra-household, which refers to what activities women and men perform; gender differences of access and management in the value chain, which refers to whether women or men are active in controlling and managing the value chain; the gender dynamics of decision making within the households, which is concerned with entitlement of women and men to decide on how to spend and use the generated income and benefits.

Generally, the participation of both males and females in the value chain will guarantee improvements in production, processing, distribution, and marketing of chain performances which in turn leading to the empowerment of women (Coles & Mitchell 2011:1). In the value chain of market-oriented agricultural commodities, women are mostly employed in the low value-added and labor-intensive activities which are characterized by flexible employment, lower wages, and other non-waged benefits, which are found to be incentives for the employer to hire women in those activities leading to the phenomenon of "feminization of labour" (Sarah 2009:5). Smallholder women farmers' participation in high-value cash crop enterprise enables them to share economic benefits and but only if they are involved in the decision making process regarding the production, marketing and the use of income generated from the production process (Zakaria 2017:144).

Third world countries have not benefited much from the neo-liberal trade liberalization structure; contrarily, it brought negative impacts to their lives by aggravating unemployment through destroying existing employment opportunities and raising the cost of living through escalating the price of goods and services (Rice 2010:289). Therefore the feminist approach calls on international trade institutions such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) to promote gender-sensitive alternative approaches that respond to global 'heterogeneity' and 'diversity' (Rice 2010:289). In response to development organizations like Agri-ProFocus promoting gender-responsive value chains since 2008, formally known as "Having Value Chains Work for Women" (Laven & Verhart 2011:4).

2.6.3 Sustainable livelihood approach and value chain

The livelihoods approach has been widely used as a qualitative approach to study primarily poverty in the field of development and it has important linkage to gender, labour, and the environment as well through its value dynamics and restructuring (Bolwig et al 2008:2). Adoption of the value chain as standalone strategy for development tends to undermine complexity and diversity of rural livelihoods that determine the strategies adopted to alleviate poverty in different contexts (Neilson & Shonk 2014:269). For instance, the same source reveals that the adoption of value chain

in coffee sector in Toraja region of Indonesia has not significantly contributed to improve the lives of smallholder livelihoods due to variations in reality of rural livelihoods. Therefore, the livelihood framework provides corrective measures for the shortcoming of value chain intervention that disregards the complexity of rural livelihoods and excessive optimism by value chain advocates. In the adoption of value chain as a development strategy it is important to understand the diverse reality and complexity of smallholder livelihoods that shape poverty alleviation strategy and contribute to improved rural welfare in different contexts. So value chain interventions need to be responsive to diverse livelihoods profiles and the varying conditions in which livelihood strategies are embedded (Neilson & Shank 2014:269). For instance in highly diverse livelihood conditions the implementation of effective market governance tools such as certification is limited.

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) was first used by the Department for International Development (DFID) as a conceptual framework that provides a complex reality and interactions between "gender equality, livelihoods, food security, and poverty reduction" (Beck 2009:4).Sustainable livelihood basically focuses on "thinking centres on the objectives, scope, and priority for development from the perspective of poor people and this way of thinking requires a commitment to … develop a realistic understanding of the livelihoods of poor people and how these can be improved" (Carney 2002:5). Being people-centred sustainable livelihoods focuses on multiple livelihoods options and strategies built from ranges of tangible and intangible assets or resources from which income earnings are generated, and most importantly it focuses on the ability of the poor to make claims on these resources (Okali 2006:5).

According to Ellis (1999:2) "in line with the SL framework, a livelihood is defined here as the activities, the assets, and the access that jointly determine the living gained by an individual or household." Sustainable livelihoods entail capability (being able to perform certain basic functioning, it also refers to what person is capable of doing or being), equity (refers to measuring relative income distribution, more commonly implies to less unequal distribution of assets, capabilities and opportunities) and sustainability (refers to the ability to maintain and improve livelihoods while maintaining or enhancing local-global assets and capabilities on which livelihood depends) (Chambers & Conway 1991:5). Therefore, livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base (Chambers & Conway 1991:9).

Gender analysis in livelihoods focuses on gender aspects in livelihoods with an anticipated positive outcome to gender equality (Chanamuto & Hall 2015:519). According to Beck (2009:4), the defining factors of sustainable livelihoods approach seen through a gender lens are the following:

i) Access to and control over assets (human, social, physical, natural and financial capital). There are always differences in access to and control over assets between women and men which define the power differences and negotiating power between the two genders both within the household and community level.

ii) Access to markets for their produce is a very important source of income, assets, inputs, and consumption to fulfil household needs and maintain the welfare of their family. Access to rewarding market to sell their produces and buy productive inputs often depends on the right to mobility, the ability to control capital, and social-cultural factors that often vary by gender differences.

iii) Risk and vulnerability: - exposure to risks such as natural hazards, conflict, diseases, and famine, drought, market and price shocks. However, there is always different level of susceptibility or vulnerability of the people to these risks depending on poverty level and socio-economic position which are often influenced by other social dimensions such as level of household income, asset endowment, ethnicity, age class, and gender.

iv) Access to knowledge, information, and organization enhances the probability of someone's access to better income or assets, lucrative market and informed risks and vulnerability and thus effect sustainable livelihoods. Gender differences in knowledge and access to information and organization can lead to asymmetry in access to improved income, market information, risks and hazards and awareness on their rights between women and men.

Livelihood assets or capital includes natural capital (natural resource stock such as soil, air, water), physical capital (house, equipment, vehicle, water supply), financial capital (cash, credit/debit, saving and other economic assets), human capital (knowledge, skills and ability to labour), social capital (networks, social claims, social relations, associations and affiliations), and political capital (citizenship, participation in governance) (Scoonnes 2009, Haidar 2009, Meinzen-Dick, Johnson, Quisumbing, Njuki, Behrman, Rubin, Peterman & Waithanji, 2011). Most of these assets particularly natural, financial, and human capital are considered to be essential for participating in the value chain and the use and effectiveness of these assets are interceded by social, economic, and policy processes and institutions (Seville, Buxton, & Vorley 2011:6).

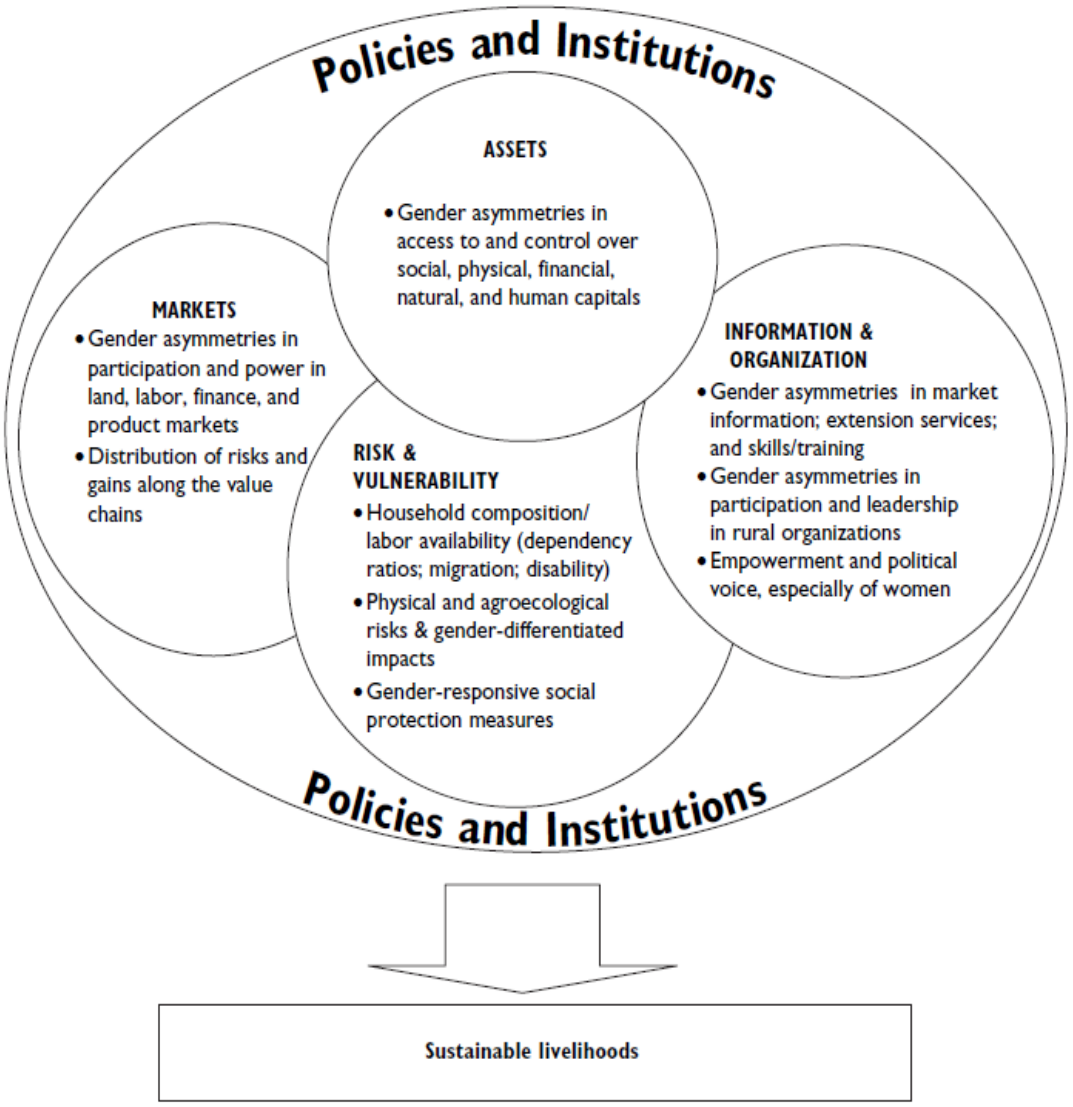


Figure 2.3: Sustainable Livelihoods through the Gender Lens

Source: World Bank Sourcebook 2009, page 5

As indicated in the figure above, the SL approach to gender perspective has been structured to present specifically gender asymmetries in access to and control over assets, participation in lucrative market, share of risks and benefits along the value chain, access to market information, services, skill and training, participation in leadership and organization, having rights, political voices and empowerment, and vulnerability to physical and agro-ecological risks (Beck Bank 2009:5).

In integrating smallholder farmers in the agribusiness value chain, the terms and relations of participation as well as the local context of farmer participation in or exclusion from the value chain are important factors that determine both the opportunities and risks associated with participation in

the value chain (Challies & Murray 2011:31). The authors argued that if the value chain has to contribute to local development and poverty reduction; its outcomes to farmers and worker livelihoods are the point of discussion in addition to its prospect for upgrading firms.

While livelihood is an important approach in providing useful insights on how individuals and households at a local level make their living, it has been critiqued for ignoring the effect of macro process and global changes (Challies & Murray 2011:31). Scoones (2009:181) also identified four main limitations of livelihoods perspectives: 1) it doesn't engage well in economic globalization process by focusing more on local issues; 2) it gives less attention to power and politics thus fails to link livelihoods and governance in development; 3) despite using the word 'sustainable' as a suffix, it has not sufficiently engaged in addressing problems of global environmental conditions; and 4) livelihoods failed to deal with debates on how rural economies shift in the long-run and agrarian setting is transformed. De Haan and Zoomers (2005) noted that despite social relations, institutions, organizations and related power govern accessibility to livelihoods assets and opportunities; there is a tendency to ignore them in livelihood analyses.

It is suggested that the livelihoods perspective needs to include detailed assessments of livelihood options and investigation of the driving structural and institutional frameworks that shape them (Murray 2001 cited in Challies & Murray 2011:32). Likewise, the global value chain approach needs to involve not merely promoting value-chain upgrading strategies such as increasing productivity and income, improving value chain governance and distribution of value across the chain; but it also needs to include understanding of the local context of socio-cultural and economic factors that can affect chain actors. Hence, this justifies the need for livelihoods and value chain approach to complement each other in addressing the inherent weaknesses embedded in each one of them (Challies & Murray 2011:32).

The livelihood concept has been used to examine the effects of value chain development interventions (through input provision, financial and technical service delivery, and changes in the political, legal and regulatory framework) on household livelihood assets building and how these assets may lead to improved wellbeing and increased resilience to shock (Donovan & Poole 2013:25). Therefore, because the impacts of participation in the value chain (expressed as opportunities and risks) on smallholder farmers and their households can be drawn from livelihoods research insights, here is a need to combine value chain and livelihood frameworks (Challies & Murray 2011:32). Scoones (2009:191) also argued that in addition to its basic commitment to local context analysis of the poor people; in the contemporary emerging rapid globalization context, the livelihoods perspective

needs to include other areas of enquiry and experiences to effectively respond to the new challenges and thereby contribute to rural development in the future.

At present, the livelihood approach encounters two major theoretical and methodological challenges: the first one is related to the problem of access which is regarded as the key issue in livelihood conceptualization; the second challenge is on the relationship between access to livelihood opportunities and decision making which requires understanding of relevant concepts such as livelihood strategies, unintended behaviour, and structural factors (De Haan & Zoomers 2005:44).

USAID developed a framework for integrating gender issue into agricultural value chains. This framework begins with gender analysis as first step that identifies gender issues relevant in value chain operations particularly it identifies gender relations that shape the opportunities available to men and women throughout the value chain (Sarah 2009:15). According to this source, gender analysis describes existing gender relations at different levels ranging from within the household to community or nations by gathering, organizing and interpreting sex disintegrated data in a systematic way. The gender analysis will lead to the identification of gender-based constraints which offer many disadvantages faced by women that limit their participation in social life, access to resources, time use, mobility, legal right, or exercise power (Sarah 2009:15).

The gender dimension framework (GDF) sketched in the figure above as discussed in Sarah (2009:17) serves to analyse gender relations at different levels from household or firm level to the community and the broader economy level by providing four interrelated dimensions of social life, such as "observed practices and patterns of participation, patterns of access to productive assets, social beliefs and perceptions, and laws policies and institutions."

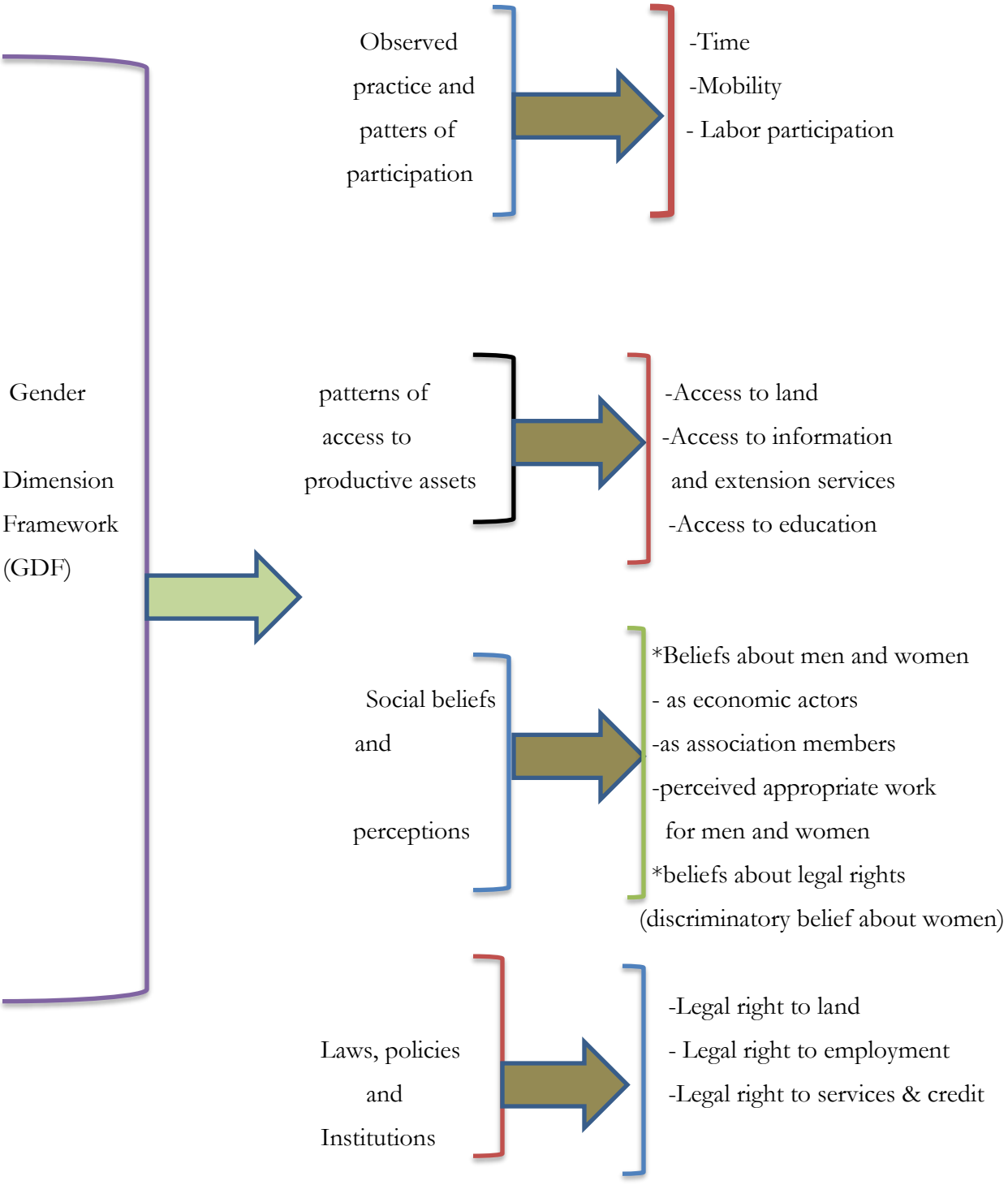


Figure 2.4: Gender dimension framework for gender analysis

Source: Sketched from USAID 2009

The integration of gender concerns into the value chain requires detailed gender analysis through gathering data and systematically examining information on gender differences and social

relations particularly through identifying the roles men and women play in the sector relative to value chain participation, examining the gender-based incentives and barriers in value chain participation, assessing activity profiles or the gender-based division of labour in relation to value chain participation, identifying resources available for men and women to work within the value chain and resource-related rewards and risks, and investigating power differences and inequalities between men and women and assess how this is related to value chain participation and the associated rewards and risks (Riisgaard et al 2010:208). In integrating gender aspects from the beginning to the end, the value chain approach requires sex-disaggregated data in all economic activities, use of gender-inclusive language, inclusion of non-market activities to see the whole picture of the value chain, analysis of power relations and inequalities, and consideration of the effects of meso and macro levels institutions on gender inequalities (Hoermann, Choudhary, Choudhury, & Kollmair 2010:34).

2.6.4 Gender-sensitive pro-poor value chain development and decent work

While most of the development literature has focused on the Global Value Chain (GVC) analysis of industrial upgrading; in recent years there has been a growing recognition of the importance of integrating smallholders into high-value markets as a viable phenomenon to promote poverty reduction, employment creation, and empowerment (Zylberberg 2013:4). Likewise, ensuring gender equality in agriculture labour participation in general and in cash crop participation in particular has received policy attentions, because it enhances women's economic empowerment, increased economic independence, and improved bargaining power within the household, it increases agricultural sector's potential of driving inclusive economic growth, reducing food insecurity, and creating employment and business opportunities for new entrant women in the labor market. Ultimately addressing gender inequality in cash crop production will contribute to achieving global sustainable development goals of poverty eradication, attaining sustainable economic growth and availing food for growing population (Zakaria 2017, Sarah 2009).

The promotion of value chain development in government and private or donor-funded programs aimed to address the poverty reduction and economic development goals with the assumptions that organizing poor farmers into rural enterprises, linking these enterprises to business partners committed to win-win relation and ensuring chain actors accessibility to technical, market and financial services will guarantee smallholder to lift them out of poverty and attain economic prosperity (Stoian, Donovan, & Elias 2015:7). Value chain development can contribute to pro-poor initiatives through enabling smallholders to increase productivity and add values; improving

competitiveness, entrepreneurship, and growth of small and medium enterprises; and better linking of small business with the market (Webber & Labaste 2010:1).

Despite structural challenges affecting both the delivery of commercially viable products and value to smallholders, participation in the value chain can benefit poor households by providing access to the formal market as smallholder producers. It can also offer employment opportunities as wage laborers in production and processing of the agribusiness sector and engaging in the value chain as providers in service markets that support value chain (Seville et al 2011:3)

As pro-poor initiatives to link smallholders with the market, value chain focuses on increasing productivity, efficiency, competitiveness, and sustainability as well as providing a means to improve support services and enabling environment for the poor (Webber & Labaste 2010:1). The Work of M4P (making markets work better for the poor project) (2008:11) has revealed that making value chain better work for the poor will provide the poor advantages in two ways: by increasing the value of products that poor people supply to the market and through sustaining the share of the poor in the value chain market. Through these advantages, the relative income of the poor compared to other actors will rise.

The value chain doesn't operate in a vacuum; normally, it operates in a properly functioning market system which involves actors providing 'supporting functions' such as actors providing infrastructure, financial services, and training and skill development and many more and actors providing 'the rules of the game' who are responsible to set the rules, enforce the regulations and govern value chain operations. In most cases, the cause for a poorly functioning market system can be due to a lack of or weak supporting functions and rules of the game (ILO 2015:4). For instance, as a result of low investment in value chain development, smallholder producers in developing countries often face challenges such as inadequate infrastructure development- road, electricity, production, and storage facilities; lack of access to skill and services- training, credit, inputs; highly dependent on conducive weather condition; difficulty to organize and coordinate due to scattered locations, consequently the buyers are often biased towards large scale producers and suppliers due to reliability and consistency issues (Seville et al 2011:3). The same source noted that given these challenges, questions can be raised on whether smallholders can effectively participate in value chain and add value to the chain or whether small producers really benefit from the value chain participation.

Strengthening value chain involves, identifying opportunities for inclusive growth of smallholders through careful analysis and selection of value chain, promoting coordination between public and private players, and financing value chain so that smallholders can invest in activities that

will add value in the chain (Borbora & Das 2015:9). Donovan and Poole (2013:23) suggested that pro-poor value chain development intervention may include providing of direct assistance to downstream actors such as resource-poor producers and businesses to increase their asset endowments, enhancing the resilience of the poor to production and marketing risks, promoting mutually beneficial linkages among actors and strengthening chain coordination to enhance efficiency and effectiveness of the chain.

Donovan, Stoian, Fisk, and Muldoon (2013:104) also argue that in value chain development for the poor, direct support for poor households is mandatory "in building a minimum stock of productive assets that would allow them to effectively participate in the value chain."

Value chain development requires governments and civil society to look beyond individual actors and it rather focuses on the value chain, the links between the actors and identifying common problems encountering actors in the chain and the solutions that contribute to the improved chain relations and overall chain performance that in turn generate win-win outcomes (Donovan, Franzel, Cunha, Gyau, & Mithöfer 2015:3). Stoian et al (2015:8) suggested that in pro-poor value chain development, attention must be given to other household livelihood activities beyond the narrow focus on employment and income, because value chain development for smallholders takes place in the context where households engage in diversified livelihood strategies that usually combine on-farm and off-farm activities depending on their level of asset endowments (human, social, natural, physical and financial capital).

Engaging rural households in a high-value-oriented market without understanding the needs and circumstances of rural households and intra-household dynamics may lead to higher costs, low acceptance, and undesired impact (Donovan et al 2015, Stoian et al 2015).

Value chain development aims to achieve various desired of development outcomes including employment creations, increasing level of exports, targeting benefiting particular group of the society, promoting locally produced materials, and deliberate target to address problems of specific region and therefore value chain analysis is normally concentrated on the desired development outcomes (M4P 2008:11). Value chain development success for smallholder households can be measured by the improvement of the level of asset endowments as a result of their involvement in value chain initiative (Donovan et al 2013). Stoian et al (2015:1) suggest a multi-chain approach that involves broader livelihoods and gender goals which requires looking beyond a given value chain to consider various market and non-market activities in which poor households are engaged in and other opportunities available for men and women. Therefore, the value chain approach to rural development must

incorporate livelihoods perspective as value chain interventions need to be responsive to the constant change of livelihood profiles and the changing context (access to resources, political, historical and institutional) in which the livelihood strategies are embedded (Neilson & Shonk 2014:286).

Although the quantity of employment generated by a given development intervention including value chain intervention has received some attention, the quality of employment generated within such intervention tends to be overlooked (Chen, Vanek & Carr 2004:9). This is particularly true in developing countries' agriculture where labour-intensive activities are common across value chain of commercial farming that relies on informal, unpaid, seasonal and temporary workers (Sarah 2009:48). ILO focuses on promoting decent work in value chain. According to ILO (2015:5), decent work refers to access to productive work that generates fair income; provision of workplace security and social protection coverage for workers and their families; provision of better prospect for personal and professional development through training and developing skills, have the freedom to express their views and concerns, organize and participate in decision making that affect their lives and offer equal opportunities for both men and women. ILO (2015:6) further argues that decent work strategy must include gender equality of opportunities as integral part of the decent work strategy.

In a similar vein, value chain development must also contribute to gender equality of opportunities through achieving Women's Economic Empowerment (WEE) which in turn can be achieved through attaining more access to productive resources, services, and legal provision, and greater agency. Acquiring greater agency entails the ability to make their own decisions on the issues concerning their lives such as time use, right to mobility, decision on choosing the enterprise and on spending income. In pro-poor VCD, Mayoux and Mackie (2007:27) suggested asking questions relevant to the promotion of decent work on employment creation – whether men and women get equal access to employment created in the chain and who are excluded from the more profitable part of the chain. One is the right at work, meaning men and women get an equal share of added value in the chain. Another is social protection – if there is any gender-specific dimension of health and safety at work and whether there is social protection, welfare, and pension services and other benefits. Finally, there is social dialogue – if women and men are equally involved in decision and policy-making processes at different levels of value chain.

In agriculture value chain women are commonly employed in informal lower-quality jobs characterized by insecure temporary employment terms with limited social protection and benefits (including limits on overtime, days off, sick leave and maternity leave) and limited involvement in an organizations and association and often work longer hours with lower payments or unpaid in

unhealthy conditions (Sarah 2009:49). Within the trends of growing proportion of women in agricultural labour force, though the agricultural workforce is generally shrinking the IFAD (2009:319) suggested the key gender issues need to be considered are women's time constraints. These gender-specific constraints are related to reproductive roles such as raising children, maintaining households, preparing foods and taking care of the elderly and sick.

There is also occupational segregation based on certain gender stereotypes. Women and men are engaged in distinct activities of different rewards and career opportunities. For instance, it is reported that women produce food crops for home consumption while men are responsible for managing cash crops. Finally, there is a concern that working in informal, temporary, low paid, and insecure employment will expose women to violence and sexual harassment as sometimes women must trade sex for job security and other employment benefits.

There is close link between decent work and empowerment and they reinforce one another in making economic growth more pro-poor, because it is believed that on one hand empowerment enhances people's capacity to access productive assets, other new opportunities and better quality jobs and on the other hand having decent work contribute to empower men and women by giving them the necessary capacity and skills, ensuring healthy and safe working condition, respecting fundamental rights, promoting social dialogue and enhancing their livelihood opportunities (Ernst, Hagemeier, Marcadent, & Oelz 2012:5).

2.7 Conclusion

The consideration of gender in the realm of social science academia in general and in development discourse in particular has existed for more than half of a century. The second wave feminism movement and the subsequent foundational works of feminist theorists of 1970s have contributed to influencing social scientists thinking and international development agencies to include women and gender issues in knowledge production.

Gender and development as an interdisciplinary field of research, implements different feminist approaches to understand the impacts of development and globalization on men and women and other socio-political identities. Through the efforts of second and third-wave feminism, and advocacies of human rights agencies, in many countries gender equality is recognized as one of the agendas of the development strategy. Throughout the course of these periods various feminism movements which are inspired by different theories of development were emerged and advocated with shared goal of protecting women's rights and interests.

Inspired by modernization theory the idea of integrating women in international development was first developed in the liberal feminism framework. It was in liberal feminism framework that Women in Development (WID) approach was developed and used and gender mainstreaming was recognized as a transformative strategy for achieving gender equalities.

Despite its contribution in exposing the extent to which modern societies have discriminated against women in terms of employment opportunity, wage differentials, women's positions in public spheres, and government institutions, liberal feminism and its WID approach was critiqued by decolonial feminism and third world feminism for being western centred and for regarding women as an oppressed homogeneous group without considering various specific setting of the gender relations based on historical, cultural, political and social status.

In response to the limitations of the WID approach, the Women and Development (WAD) approach was developed from the dependency theory of development and radical feminist thinking, which was later adopted by the developing countries' feminist movements. The WAD approach was later become unpopular for its various limitations such as limitation in its scope in focusing on marginalized women only, neglecting the reproductive aspects of women and by considering women as uniform social class it was failed to understand the complex situation women experience in different contexts.

Generally liberal feminism was popular than Marxist feminism that relates gender inequality with class inequality and radical feminism that sees gender inequality as a consequence of patriarchal dominancy and control over women's power and agency. Because despite it was criticized for giving less emphasis to the reproductive roles of women; liberal feminism was successful in addressing particularly problems related to economic contributions of women. The scholars in this approach have made enormous contributions in influencing social, economic and political institutions to integrate gender issues in their programmes.

Despite some limitations in effectively addressing issues like intersectionality (differences based on class, race, ethnicity, and age differences), and its unpopularity with some agencies influenced by the feminist pressure which still favour using the term WID; in most cases the GAD approach remains popular in gender and development studies since 1990s when it was adopted in most international development policies and programmes.

Influenced by the GAD approach, gender mainstreaming as policy initiative and strategic mean of integrating gender issues across organizations was adopted internationally in 1995- Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing. Since the inception, in some contexts gender mainstreaming

has scored some remarkable gains in gender equality in the areas of access to education, joining of public institutions, participation in elections and local governance, and labour force participation.

Despite international organizations and governments have adopted gender mainstreaming to include gender perspectives in their institutions and make development responsive to gender equality and empowering women; the enormous change and transformation agenda of Beijing Conference were not so far effectively met. Because gender mainstreaming has failed to implement and institutionalize successful policies that promote gender equality and women's empowerment in general terms. One of the missing loops of gender mainstreaming was that in giving more emphasis on the instrumental objectives of economic growth and reducing poverty it failed to address the social transformation and empowerment of women. Therefore the transformation of social relations and empowerment agenda of gender mainstreaming was not so far fulfilled particularly in developing countries' contexts. There is still a long way to go in overcoming widespread gender gaps in access to resources, economic opportunities, and political representation while eliminating inequalities between women and men. In line with the theoretical framework and literature presented in this chapter, the next chapter will further discuss the paradigm choice in relation to the methodological approach and methods selection for this study.

CHAPTER 3
DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research process of this study by highlighting the research position and location within the broader context of the research paradigm. Drawing on the theoretical framework presented in chapter two and the nature of the research questions at hand, this chapter presents the research approach used in the study. The selection of research methodology and design involves the acknowledgment of diverse worldviews and their applications (Douglas 2012:5). Further, this chapter will explain the paradigm that subsequently guided the choice of research approach and method of data collection in relation to the relevance of the aim of the study and main research questions.

3.2 Research Design

Research design is "the process of building a structure, or plan, for your research project" (Leavy 2017:8). It is a strategy that presents the plan, principles, and structures of the research methodology and methods as well as the justification of how these relate to the research problem (Jupp 2006:265). In social science, there are different research approaches: quantitative, qualitative, mixed, and participatory community-based (Leavy 2017: 9).

The decision to select a research approach is based on the philosophical assumption the researcher has adopted in the study and the overall research design (Creswell 2014:2). Therefore, the idea of methodological consideration often moves beyond regarding research as simply a technical exercise; instead, it is about how we understand the world, which in turn is informed by our assumption of how we view the world (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison 2007:47). There is a need to have an interrelationship between the theoretical paradigm adopted by the researcher, research methodology and methods, as well as the epistemological view of the researcher. The method we propose to use must be governed by the methodology we have chosen; likewise, the methodology needs to be informed by a theoretical paradigm which in turn is informed by epistemology (Crotty 1998:7). In this study, the qualitative research approach and relevant theoretical paradigm inform the selection of the methodology and methods that guide the particular research processes.

3.3 Research Paradigms

There are two different dimensions around which academic research is structured: ontology and epistemology (Lopes 2015:14). In research, the ontological assumption is about how the researcher views the very nature of social reality to be investigated. Depending on the philosophical stance of the researcher, social reality can be seen either as external to individual objective reality or as the result of individual consciousness/cognition-subjective reality (Cohen et al 2007:47). For instance, anti-positivists rejected the idea of a researcher being a detached and objective observer, suggesting that enquiry in the social world requires subjective engagement of dealing with people's views and experiences in specific context in order to understand explain and demystify social reality from the perspective of the participants (Cohen et al 2007, Gray 2014).

Epistemology is "the theory of knowledge embedded in the theoretical perspective and thereby in the methodology" (Crotty 1998:3). Epistemology is the assumption about how we come to know the reality or how we acquire and communicate knowledge (Jupp 2006, Scotland 2012). It is also about "what it means to know" (Scotland 2012:9). Epistemology further explains as how knowledge and the knower are related to one another (Cohen & Crabtree 2006). The perspective from which the researchers view knowledge fundamentally determines how they will go about uncovering knowledge. For instance, the objective or tangible view of knowledge demands a researcher's loyalty to the stringent natural science methods and limited their role to observers, while subjective or personal view of knowledge demands researcher's involvement with the subjects (Cohen et al 2007:48).

The points of departure for every paradigm are its ontological and epistemological assumptions, as there are different ontological and epistemological views for different paradigms. Each paradigm has different assumptions about reality and knowledge which underpin the choice of research methodologies and methods (Scotland 2012).

In addition to ontological and epistemological dimensions, another related dimension that may influence the choice of research is axiology. Axiology is a philosophical concept about how a researcher's value judgment influences the research (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill 2012, Creswell 2014). It is a question of whether the research inquiry has to be value-free and neutral process as it is in positivist views or whether the researcher value can strongly influence the inquiry as it is well accepted in post-positivists views (Chilisa & Kawulich 2012:57). The latter case is mostly common in qualitative research, where the role of researcher's value is accepted valid in the research process and the researcher is free to reveal his/her values and prejudices as well as the value and knowledge of research participants (Saunders et al 2012, Creswell 2014).

The term paradigm first used by Thomas Kuhn in 1962 as a concept relatedly closes to 'normal science' which is sufficiently being unique and popular to attract many enduring groups of advocates and followers and at the same time, sufficiently being undisclosed problem to be redefined and improved by the group (Kuhn 1970). In its early use, the term paradigm referred to a concrete model shared by a particular scientific community to which researchers are committed to the rules and standards set by this particular scientific community (Kuhn 1970:11). Since then, the term paradigm has been widely used by many scholars mostly researchers in social sciences. Paradigms are how we see the world, and our world views and frameworks, that guide our inquiries about the social world and it is a model or framework formed from the combinations of our philosophy and belief about the reality (ontology), and our philosophy of knowledge and beliefs of what counts as knowledge (epistemology) (Crotty 1998, Cohen & Crabtree 2006, Leavy 2017).

In the phase of research planning, researchers need to identify which assumption of the philosophy of worldview they aim to adopt for the study, as this would largely influence the practice of the research and help also to explain the reason why they choose a given research approach (Creswell 2014, Leavy 2017). Certain methodologies are associated with a particular paradigm (Chilisa & Kawulich 2012:58) because there is a specific research approach upon which each paradigm basis its foundation to make an inquiry about the social world (Jupp 2006:212).

3.4 Paradigm choices

The choice of paradigm depends on the researcher's intent, motivation and expectation of the research, more importantly identifying the theoretical paradigm under which given research falls, will give strong basis for the subsequent choices of literature, research design, methodology and method (Mackenzie & Knipe 2006:194). The sociological views and understanding of researchers about the natural and social world can influence paradigm choice (Lopes 2015:11). Paradigms are a theoretical framework that influences how knowledge is studied and interpreted. There are a number of theoretical paradigms discussed in the literature. However different terms and categories are used in different literature. This study adopted the paradigm classification proposed by authors Creswell (2014),Gray(2014), Neuman(2014)as positivism, post-positivism, interpretive/constructivist, transformative /critical/ and pragmatic.

3.4.1 Positivists paradigm

The philosophical belief originally emerged from the thinking of eighteenth-century philosophers such as Auguste Comte and Emile Durkheim who believed that though theories may be created through reasoning, they are only acceptable if they can be verified through scientific observations (Bhattacherjee 2012:8). Positivists' philosophical view was developed in the thinking of natural science and it values knowledgeable reality, objectivity, testing and verifications (Leavy 2017:12). They believe in traditional rigorous scientific research and commonly use quantitative research approach and they are sometimes called "the scientific method or scientific research" (Creswell 2014:6). According to this paradigm worldview, scientific claims can only be validated through scientific method (Bhattacherjee 2012:8). Positivists believe that theories or experiences of the social world should be described through observations and measurements (Bhattacherjee 2012, O'Leary 2014). In the construction of laws and rules of behaviour positivists want to remain objective by relying on predictable, measurable and controllable ascription of causality (Cohen et al 2007, Leavy 2017). The ontological assumption of positivist view is that reality can be seen and touched in common objective thinking, not something complex. Likewise, their epistemological assumption lies in the belief that scientific knowledge is the best way to seek truth. In doing so they place clear distinction between scientific and non-scientific knowledge assuming that knowledge from personal experiences and culture is inferior and unsystematic (Neuman 2014, Creswell 2014).

3.4.2 Post-positivists paradigm

Like positivists, post-positivists also maintained the notion of objective truth (objectivism) and the importance of scientific method, however, they have made "amendments to positivism by suggesting that it is impossible to verify the truth" (Bhattacherjee 2012:8). They challenged positivists' conventional notion of knowledge as absolute truth (Phillips & Burbules 2000:11). Because they accepted the fact that human knowledge is challengeable and it is set based on tentative conjectures or theories that can disprove using empirical evidence (Bhattacherjee 2012, Phillips & Burbules 2000). Creswell (2014) described post-positivists as a paradigm that holds deterministic philosophy where causal effect relationship is identified through conducting experiments. In knowledge production, post-positivist paradigm emphasizes searching for objective reality out there through careful observation, measurements and testing (Creswell 2014, Lopes 2015). According to the post-positivist paradigm, for us to understand the world better, laws and theories that govern the world must be tested and verified (Creswell, 2014). In this paradigm view, the world we live in is predictable and there is always a means to realise the truth, through replicable observations and tests (Lopes 2015:14).

Like positivists, post-positivists mostly use quantitative research approach and empiricist analysis (Mackenzie & Knipe 2006:195).

3.4.3 Constructivist/Interpretivist paradigm

The idea of the German philosopher, Immanuel Kant that critiqued pure reasoning from experience, arguing that experience is subjective, therefore, it is wrong to judge experiences through pure reasoning without exploring the subjective nature of experience. Following Kant's idea, German idealism was developed, which contributed later to the rise of the interpretivist paradigm techniques such as phenomenology, hermeneutics, and critical social theory (Bhattacherjee 2012:7). Constructivism believes that objective truth is not something out there waiting for us to discover; 'truth' or 'meaning' is something that comes into existence through continuous engagement of human beings with their surrounding world realities. Thus "truth or meaning is not discovered, it is constructed" (Crotty 1998:9). "We are actively engaged in constructing and reconstructing meanings through our daily interactions—often referred to as the *social construction of reality"* (Leavy 2017:13). This implies that there is no reality out there. The real world is the result of the interconnections among comprehensive social rules and procedures (Lopes 2015:195). Thus, our continuous patterns of interactions and interpretations make and remake the social world through assigning meaning to it (Leavy 2017:13).

Meaning or reality can be constructed differently in different places and different cultures and contexts, and thus reality or meaning is a subjective issue. Therefore, like objectivism is the epistemological stance for positivists and post-positivists; subjectivity has become the epistemological stance for constructivist's paradigm in structuralist, post-structuralist and postmodernist thoughts (Crotty 1998:9). This paradigm views the world from the perspectives of its actors, whose meaning and interpretations are given more attention in research inquiry (Cohen et al 2007:25). This is because; the base for research in this paradigm is people's subjective experiences and meanings, which means that individuals have different subjective experiences or meanings about certain objects or situations. Researchers need to consider the different and complex views, experiences and values than the narrow meaning and a few ideas and views (Creswell 2014). As O'Leary (2014) puts it, multiple realities and meanings, complexity of the social system, diversity in social norms and values, make social science research an uneasy task.

Researchers in this paradigm employ qualitative research approaches such as phenomenology, ethnography, symbolic interaction and naturalistic (Chilisa & Kawulich 2012:11). In this paradigm researchers mostly rely on participant views of the issues being studied, and therefore there is a need

to facilitate discussions and interaction among the participants in order to capture subjective meanings that are usually negotiated socially and historically (Creswell 2014:8).

3.4.4 Pragmatic paradigm

Pragmatism is a philosophy founded at the beginning of twenty century by American philosophers Charles Pierce, William James, and John Dewey, in an attempt to address the problems society was facing at that time, but recently have been revived (Gray 2014:28). "The philosophy of pragmatic worldview arises out of actions, situations, and consequences rather than antecedent conditions as in post-positivism" (Creswell 2014:9). Basically, pragmatism was founded on empiricism view, but it uses more than pure observation of a given reality, recognizing that human actions are unpredictable (Goldkuhl 2004:1). The underpinning philosophy of pragmatism is the acknowledgment of the mutual relationship between knowledge and action, arguing that action shouldn't be conceived as an end in itself, it is rather a means that could bring changes in desired ways if it is guided purposefully and knowledgeably (Goldkuhl 2004:1).

The pragmatic paradigm is not attached to a specific set of procedures or models to conduct research. Instead, it touts a belief that different research approaches could be relevant in different research contexts: "researchers value utility and what works in the context of a particular research question" (Leavy 2017:14). In the pragmatic view, any ideology or belief can be accepted as long as it works on a practical level to benefit the society - promoting fairness, freedom, and justice (Gray 2014).

Researchers that take pragmatic approach to research focus on choosing the methodology best suited to addressing the research question rather than confirming loyalty to a particular methodological convention (Glogowska 2011:251). This means pragmatism is not committed to specific philosophy and reality; it values different worldviews and assumptions and opens the door to use multiple research approaches (Creswell 2014:39). It is against the underpinning philosophy of the quantitative and qualitative traditions that set one aside and it values the importance to use mixed approaches (Glogowska 2011:251). In pragmatism, using a mixed method—both quantitative and qualitative approaches—is not only possible, but it can be necessary in some cases (Gray 2014:28). This is particularly relevant where the theme of the research is to address the real-world practical challenges and where the research question doesn't fall exclusively under either the positivist or constructivist philosophy (Ihuah & Eaton 2013:933).

3.4.5 Critical Paradigm

The theoretical framework on which this thesis was based is critical theory because this study critically investigated gender relations in the agriculture value chain by interrogating how gender inequality, employment and women's empowerment are addressed in the agriculture value chain in Ethiopia. In this section, the theory of this paradigm and its relevance to the theme of this thesis will be discussed in detail.

Originally, critical theory was built up on the legacy of ancient philosophers like Socrates who questioned and challenged conventional wisdom and longstanding beliefs and started to think beyond the existing order (Bronner 2011). However, in modern time the term 'critical theory' was first used by neo-Marxists, Max Horkheimer and Frankfort School to whom the 'rethinking of Marxist theory belongs' (Feluga 2015). Despite the Frankfort School critical theorists—Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, and Herbert Marcuse—initially working within Marxist frameworks, they later moved away from Marxism, though maintained their opposition against the destructive effects of capitalism (Fui, Khi & Ying 2011:129).

The Frankfort School critical theorists challenged the 'view of history' and proposed a radical alternative that promotes the transformation of everyday life (Bronner 2011). In his critical theory, Horkheimer wanted to achieve the aim of changing the lives of society for the better by challenging the ideology of class oppression and domination (Feluga 2015). Critical theory is a social theory that aims to change society (Fui et al 2011:129), through "a meta-process of investigation" that interrogates existing assumptions and values and critically "challenges conventional social structures" (Gray 2014:23). In the effort of getting freedom, critical theorists are against the idea of seeking freedom through institutional arrangements or fixed systems of thought. Rather, they believe that changing the existing system and historical circumstances could lead to liberalization (Bonner 2011). The critique of capitalism was focused on instrumental responses to the pressure of capitalist system that had been seen to affect the cognitive power of the people and their ability to challenge and critique the prevailing power of capitalist system dominating them (Thompson 2016:1).

Critical theorists—like participatory action researchers, Marxists, feminists, and postcolonial people—are transformative worldview holders who advocate that structural law, system, and theory imposed by post-positivists don't address issues such as power, social justice, discrimination, and oppressions relevant to the marginalized people (Neuman 2014, Creswell 2014).

Ontologically, the critical paradigm views reality as something historically bounded and constantly changing and it has many layers (Chilis & Kawulich 2012, Neuman 2014). This implies that, on one hand, the critical paradigm holds a similar view with positivists in the assumption that reality

exists out there independent of our perception, on the other hand, similar to the constructivists, reality is seen as being composed of multiple layers (Neuman 2014:110).

Newman (2014) described that in critical theory, knowledge is not a means to control and manipulate people, nor it is about capturing and changing people and their subjective experiences. Instead, knowledge is an instrument to actively participate in world affairs and fully control their environment, and it is also a means to liberate people from the chains of past thinking. More importantly, knowledge "is not a thing to be possessed but a process that combines increased awareness with taking actions" (Newman 2014:116).

Though critical theorists agree with many criticisms constructivists direct at positivists, they also criticize the interpretivists/constructivists themselves for not doing enough to advocate marginalized people's action agenda (Newman 2014, Creswell 2014). Furthermore, critical theorists criticize constructivists for being uncritical of their exploration of culture, suggesting that the structures and values of the society must be called into question by the researcher (Gray 2014:27). Critical social theory criticizes constructivists' view for being too subjective, because actual conditions may be more important than people's ideas. Thus, the critical paradigm rejects positivists' quantitative empirical objective bounded view, as well as constructivists' subjective voluntarist views, arguing that the research in social science must be reflexive as well as political (Neuman 2014:110).

Scholars suggested different factors that gave rise to the emergence of critical emancipatory paradigm. First, a critique arises because the dominant theories in social science are produced by white male intellectuals based on the study of males (Gillian 1982 as cited in Chilis & Kawulich 2012:11). Second, in most countries, minorities do not benefit from policies and projects derived from research due to racial biases (Mertens 2010). Third, the third world people's perspectives and their ways of knowing are not included in the mainstream research and development, hence most development projects are found to be irrelevant to the needs of the people (Chambers 1995, Escobar 2011). This situation gave rise to the development of decolonial[2] thinking. Decolonial thinking first emerged in Latin America as a counterpoint to the modernity/coloniality and it is decolonial project that aims to end global designs which often colonize the economy, authority, enforcement (coloniality of power), knowledge (languages, categories of thoughts, belief systems) and being (subjectivity) (Mignolo 2011:47). In decolonizing the political economy and proposing an alternative decolonial conceptualization, Grosfoguil (2011) suggested using critical paradigm theory.

[2] "Decoloniality is the energy that does not allow the operation of the logic of coloniality nor believes the fairy tales of the rhetoric of modernity" (Mignolo 2011:46)

The critical theorists believe that shared reality, our conceptual system, and how society defines things are created by 'language' through continuous interaction (Fui et al 2011, Cohen & Crabtree 2006). And thus, "human cognition shapes reality through its imposition of prior cognitive principles" (Fui et al 2011:129). This implies that the 'objectivity' and 'subjectivity' label is not a natural fact; they are socially formed (Cohen & Crabtree 2006). They believe that there is nothing like 'objective knowledge' because the knowledge we have, about our environment is formed and shaped through the historical context and the social process we experienced (King 2016:3). Similar view suggested that critical theorists believe that all knowledge including scientific ones are "historical and political in nature," arguing that multiple and sometimes contradictory human interests, shape and reform knowledge, hence knowledge is not value free or objectively independent from diverse human interests, that resulted in forming knowledge as "fundamentally pluralistic and incongruous, rather than unitary and monolithic" (Friesen 2008:2). Therefore, through focusing on the relationship among politics, value, and knowledge, critical theorists have shown that politics and values have laid foundations for the formation of scientific knowledge (Fui et al 2011:129).

Critical theorists have rejected the positivist view on researchers' value freedom and also criticized the constructivists for being relativist on moral value, arguing that research in social science "is a moral-political activity that requires the researcher to commit to a value position" and it is very important that "all social research necessarily begins with a value or moral point of view" (Neuman 2014:120).

As Gray (2004:27) summarises, the underlying assumptions of critical inquiry is that power relations often influence ideas; the dominant group of the society exerts oppressive measures on the subordinate group; what people usually know and accept as 'facts' are not free from the ideological motivation as well as self-interest of the powerful groups thus the research practices of the mainstream has produced and reproduced oppressive systems of class, race, and gender—intentionally or unintentionally.

Critical theory has played a crucial role for the development of cultural studies alongside other institutions such as Birmingham cultural studies. Both critical theory and cultural studies have used critical engagement to understand asymmetrical power relations and suggested the use of interdisciplinary analyses, not only to study social and cultural phenomena but also to address social injustices and dominations (King 2016:4). Critical theory may include other fields such as women's studies or indigenous people's studies. Research in critical theory view is considered as a political project for empowering and emancipating marginalized people by recognizing differences within the

society and placing more emphasis to the experiences and perspectives of the underprivileged ones (Leavy 2017:130). For instance, critical feminist researchers often criticize male-dominated knowledge production, arguing that knowledge is not objective and value free as the experiences and perspectives of the researcher will inevitably influence the type of knowledge produced (Letherby 2012:62).

The purpose of doing research in critical theory is more than just to understand the social world; it is about changing the social world itself by critiquing the existing social relations and unpacking the source of social control and inequalities and empowering marginalized ones (Neuman 2014:111). Critical theory-based researches often seek better understanding of structural constraints and they challenge reproduction of repressive ideology and build critical awareness with the aim to overcome social injustices and inequalities (Bohman 2013). By placing central importance on the critical investigation of the lives and experiences of diverse groups, critical theory research focuses on asymmetrical power relationships or inequalities based on gender, races, ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation, and socio-economic class and links these inequalities to the political and social actions, hence research inquiry involves a political change agenda (Mertens 2010, Leavy 2017). Using a 'theory or beliefs, critical research often examines how a program works and why oppression, domination, and asymmetrical power relations exist' (Mertens 2010, Neuman 2014).

Unlike research in both positivists—which use hypothesis testing with replication of observations—and constructivists, who place their enquiry on how people view systems, meanings, and rules of behaviour, critical research uses testing theory in thoroughly describing situations created by underlying structures and make use of that knowledge to alter the existing social relations (Neuman 2014:110). Moreover, Creswell (2014) noted that the research in critical theory involves an action agenda for change that may transform the lives of the society and the institutions through addressing specific issues such as empowerment, inequalities, oppressions, domination, and alienation.

Critical inquiry often inspires the researcher and research participants to abandon 'false consciousness' and come up with innovative ways of thinking and understanding that guide effective action (Gray 2014:23). For instance, critical theorists found 'subjective-objective' labels problematic, arguing that this subjective-objective label is not a natural fact; it is a socially constructed practice, that assigns an 'objective' label to privilege natural science and gives identity protection and pride to some powerful groups. However, this artificial objective-subjective label has misleading implications for the quantitative and qualitative research relations (Cohen & Crabtree 2006). The same authors further suggested that the subjective-objective dualism label must be eliminated because the notion of

objectivity is historically produced and socially shared in both quantitative and qualitative research approaches.

Quantitative and qualitative research approaches can be used in critical research, however, scholars suggested using the mixed method, as multiple approaches and analyses will provide the researcher with a more realistic picture of the social world, and give a deeper understanding of diverse values, stances, and perspectives (Somekh & Lewin 2005:75). More specifically, critical theory researchers use methods that allow interaction, dialogue, conversation, and reflections between the researcher and the research participants in combination with interviews and observations (Cohen & Crabtree 2006).

Gender and development discourse involves activism and feminist movements as a political challenge to the gender-blind discourse traditionally presented as scientific and universal knowledge, which has systematically undermined other knowledges including the women's issues and concerns (see also Aguinaga et al 2010). The engagement in this type of discourse requires a critical analysis of the existing situations and contributes to economic, social and political transformations.

In critically examining gender mainstreaming in the agricultural value chain, the researcher adopted and used a theoretical framework called 'continuum', which includes theoretical directions ranging from modernist to postmodern thinking (see chapter 2). The researcher agrees with Beasley that the 'continuum' approach serves as a means of distinguishing between different theoretical directions and yet recognizing their underlying connections. More importantly, the 'continuum' is used as an enduring theme, which gives the means to portray the territory of the gender field (Beasley 2012).

The meaning attached to gender continues to change over time. For instance, Ntaousani pointed out that the 1960s and 70s feminist movements regarded the concept of gender as a way to contest the naturalization of sex differences between men and women. In the 1980s, gender was considered a social construct that reflects an asymmetrical power relationship between men and women and, in the same decade, psychoanalysts came up with the idea that displaces the meaning of gender from 'social constructivism' of power relations to 'ontological determinism' of psychological desire.

Since the 1990s, the notion of deconstructing and denaturalizing the concept of gender as a cultural intelligibility of agency has become dominant following the work of Judith Butler (Ntaousani 2010:2). Butler (2007:13) argued that it is not always the case that there are consistent and coherent constitutions of gender in different historical contexts, mainly because the fact that gender intersects with racial, class, ethnic, and sexual differences can constitute identity; therefore, gender is produced and maintained in political and cultural intersections.

The interest in the topic arose from the researcher's experience of working in the field (agribusiness and a value chain development project) and the researcher wanted to critically examine how gender mainstreaming is applied in the agricultural value chain development process, to what extent it benefits women, and what are impediments involved in the process. The researcher agrees with the idea that the researcher's personal beliefs that have developed from expertise, culture, and personal experience can motivate his/her interest in a given topic for research, and, likewise, the personal beliefs can also be refuted by already produced knowledge in a rigorous scientific social science manner (Leavy 2017).

This research is applied in nature. From the discussion in chapter one, it is observed that, in Ethiopia, different gender policies and discourses have been implemented at different times and by different regimes. Analysing the potential of agricultural development, particularly agriculture value chain interventions in transforming the lives of rural women through ensuring gender equality and women's empowerment, requires critically engaged research. This research critically interrogates the transformative agenda of gender mainstreaming which is popular in most development interventions in Ethiopia. Hence, it falls under the transformative philosophical worldview paradigm, specifically critical theory.

The transformative worldview paradigm, under which the critical paradigm falls, emerged in the 1980s and 1990s and focuses on issues of marginalized people in the society, addressing issues of power, social justices, discrimination, and oppressions and they include critical theorists, Marxists, feminists, postcolonial people, racial, and ethnic minorities (Creswell 2014). They criticized both post-positivists for their imposition of structural laws and theories that are not relevant to marginalized peoples, and social constructivist's view for not doing enough in advocating emancipation of marginalized individuals (Creswell 2014). The same author further noted that the transformative paradigm contains an action agenda for improving the situations of people through addressing important social issues such as empowerment, inequality, oppression, and alienation. Critical theory views all knowledge including scientific ones as "historical and broadly political in nature" (Friesen 2008:3). In taking a political stance on the present and emphasising social transformation, critical theory often aims at forming a fair society at the end (Feluga 2015:23). Critical theory has become a common theoretical analysis of culture, "in the tradition of thinking from the structuralists of the modern period to the deconstructionist and postmodern theorists of the last 50 years" (Feluga 2015:24).

This study employs a critical theory research paradigm to analyse gender mainstreaming policy and practices in agricultural value chains. In addition to the consideration of the suitability of the research question, the researcher's beliefs and values could influence the choice of research approach and paradigm (Douglas 2012, Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). My choice of the critical theory paradigm is based on my personal interest as an expert working in the development field, to see if the lives of rural women have changed in the same way as men. The researcher believes that the paradigm of critical theory fulfils this purpose. Critical theory is about searching for new possibilities for liberation from existing problems by focusing on how things 'might be or should be', rather than just explaining or understanding how things were (Bronner 2011, Creswell 2003).

The researcher's interest in the topic that arises from the disillusionment about the gap between gender policy rhetoric and practices has led me to take a gender perspective—critically analysing power relations between men and women that have been constrained by historical, institutional, and socio-cultural factors—in the context of the agriculture value chain. In doing so, the study aims to contribute to the development of progressive and inclusive rural development policy. Hence, the study in this regard falls under policy research category than the theoretical research category. Policy-oriented research is change-oriented research that is mainly concerned with the production of knowledge for action, while theoretical research is a research of theoretical construct of causal process and explanation that is concerned with knowledge production for understanding, usually targeting the relevant social science community (Hakim 2000:3).

3.5 Research methodology

Research methodology is defined as "the philosophical stance or worldview that underlines and informs a style of research" (Jupp 2006:175). Research methodology is a general framework and strategic plan and design process that guides the choice and use of particular methods and justifies how these methods are relevant to the desired outcomes of the research (Crotty 1998, O'Leary 2014). It is a systematic strategy of inquiry that describes the philosophical assumptions underlying various techniques as well as the criteria by which certain procedures and techniques are applicable to some problems rather than others (Kothari 2004:8). Methodology offers principal reasoning related to philosophical assumptions and provides the strategies and basis for undertaking a study (O'Leary 2014, Creswell 2014).

Research methodology explains assumptions, principles, and procedures in the building framework for the research. It involves setting up general laws and principles that guide research activity (Novikov & Novikov 2013:14). The choices of research methodology can be determined by

the ontological (perception of reality) and epistemological (understanding of knowledge) assumptions of the researcher (Jupp 2006, Neuman 2014, Lopes 2015). Research methodology not only offers research strategies and principles to the research process, but it also provides the legitimacy of the researcher for knowledge production, showing that he/she has taken a philosophical position contended "with the responsibilities and controversies associated with knowledge production" (O'Leary 2014:11).

Research methodology as a general framework that justifies methods, employs three types of research approaches: quantitative, qualitative and mixed-method depending on the researcher's anticipation of the type of data needed to answer the research questions (O' Leary 2014, Long 2012). The anticipations of the researcher are also influenced by his/her ontological and epistemological assumptions or how he/she views reality and knowledge (Long 2014, Creswell 2014).

In addition to quantitative and qualitative approaches, ethnography can be one form of the methodology. Crotty (1998:3) pointed out that ethnography is one of the research methodologies "that guide a researcher in choosing methods and shape the use of the methods chosen." In this thesis, a qualitative research approach and ethnography have been used with some quantitative approach elements to a lesser extent and thus, it is a qualitative-dominated methodological approach.

3.5.1 Quantitative and qualitative research approaches

The reasercher agrees with other researchers that the base for the quantitative-qualitative classification of the research approach lies on the ontological, epistemological, and axiological assumptions that detects the type of data to be collected and how they are collected (Mkasi & Acheampong 2012:132). Gray (2014:31) argues that selection of methodology, for example, depends on how the researcher views reality – whether he/she believes that truth is out there to be discovered or it is an exploration of multiple perspectives of people. In addition to this, the position of how the researcher is regarded in relation to researched also matters in the selection of methodology. This is whether the researcher is seen as external observer to detect reality or whether viewed as insider of the researched with value judgment (Long 2012, Gray 2014). All these will inform how the research process is conducted and what type of data is collected.

The quantitative-qualitative division shouldn't be regarded as a rigid and entirely distinct category. Instead, with the exception of representing different ends of a continuum, they are mutually intelligible and complementary to one another (Creswell 2014, Neuman 2014). In order to give some theoretical background to the relevancy of the methodological choice of the research study, an overview of quantitative and qualitative methodologies is provided below.

3.5.1.1 Quantitative research approach

A quantitative research approach is a methodology that employs deductive[3] reasoning to the research process with the aim to prove or disprove objective theory through measuring different variables and explaining patterns or casual relationships between variables (Creswell 2014, Leavy 2017). Variables are representations of the abstract construct of conceptual level, and they can be measured and numbered so as to operationalize the theory at the empirical level (Bhattacherjee 2012:27). Therefore, a quantitative research approach aims to objectively test theory, determining facts and foreseeing outcomes through establishing a cause-and-effect relationship among variables (Van der Merwe 1996).

Starting from the existing theory, quantitative research methodology uses surveying and experimentation and seeks explanations and predictions to develop generalizations that contribute to the existing theory (Leedy & Ormrod 2015:154). It uses hypothesis testing as a means by which theory or principle is credited, disproved or modified through empirical observations and experimentations (Gray 2014:6). The quantitative method often seeks measuring in numbers not only on data that are obviously expressed as numbers such as population census and economic data, but also on other data that seem remote from quantitative measures for instance people's opinion can also be converted to a number to be treated as quantitative (Walliman 2011:72).

Quantitative research methodology tradition is associated with empiricist or positivist paradigm assumptions (Creswell 2014). It holds a view that research must be independent of the researcher and must be value free, thus the role of the researcher is limited to an observer to maintain the objectivity of the research in measuring the reality empirically through numeric procedures and statistics (Williams 2007:66). In quantitative research, the researcher must focus on objectivity and neutrality in knowledge production by remaining loyal to the principle of replication and standardized procedures to be followed, thus the focus of the research is on the outcome rather than the process (Neuman 2014, Williams 2007).

Quantitative research methodology commonly uses value free, rigorous hierarchical and procedural techniques such as experiments of many variables and treatments, quantitative and randomized control trials, surveys, correlational statistics, structural equation modelling, and causal comparative (Chilsa & Kawulich 2012, Creswell 2014).

[3] "Deductive reasoning is the process of working down from theories to more specific examples" (O' Leary, 2014:122)

3.5.1.2 Qualitative approach

Unlike in material science where most aspects can be recorded as numbers and measured numerically, in social science research, many useful data on people's 'judgments, feeling of comfort, emotions, views ideas, and beliefs cannot be reduced to numbers'; instead, they can only be captured and described in words and hence a qualitative research approach is employed (Walliman 2011:73). Qualitative research deals with people's attitudes, motivation, and behaviour by offering detailed explanations of their perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, views, and feelings. It also deals with the meaning and interpretations of given events or things and their behaviour (Hakim 2000:34). Qualitative research is conducted in highly contextualized and natural real-life settings and thus provides rich explanations and understandings of the problem through logical process of analyses (Gray 2014, Creswell). This can be achieved through carefully defined words and development of concepts and identify the relationship between them (Walliman 2011:73).

Qualitative research methodology originates in the principles and 'language of research' emphasis of interpretive and critical social theories' assumptions and philosophies (Neuman 2014:177). By recognizing the complexity of the social world, a qualitative research approach accepts multiple realities, appreciates subjectivity, and recognizes the researcher's power (O'Leary 2014, Neuman 2014). Unlike quantitative research, that employs systematic logic and follows a linear way in conducting research, qualitative research follows a nonlinear way, arising from on-going practice logic (Newman 2014:203).

Qualitative research is aimed at building meanings, developing theories and acquiring depth of understanding of the situations from small samples (Van der Merwe 1996, Leavy 2017). In this qualitative research involves context, thick description and self-reflexivity concepts (Tracy 2013:2). Qualitative research methodology focuses on detailed explanations and in-depth descriptions of specific case, context as well as its cultural meanings and unfolds the casual mechanisms or processes behind it (Neuman 2014, O'Leary 2014). Self-reflexivity as acknowledgment of researcher's point of view, biases, experiences, values and beliefs, and theoretical position that may shape his/her approach to research and the interpretation of the results is important in qualitative research. Thus, researcher is here considered as part of the researched or instrument for the research (Tracy 2013:2).

Despite qualitative research being viewed as an inductive[4] research approach to knowledge—an approach through which theory is building from data or interpreting data to build concepts and categories (Bhattacherjee 2012, Leavy 2017)—I argue that the qualitative researcher has prior theoretical assumptions about the research puzzle, and might like to impose at least some structure on the study in terms of the type of questions being asked and what to be focused on and where and with whom the research will be conducted (Gray 2014, O' Leary 2014). As Gray (2014) further states, if qualitative research is entirely inductive, formulation of prior research question may not be required, but in reality, most qualitative researches at least set tentative research questions to be addressed.

Qualitative research gathers data in the form of words, sentences, photos, and symbols that provide rich description and explanation of the research findings (Gray 2014, Newman 2014). Taking people as central units of account, qualitative research displays how perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, views, and feelings of the people put together into frameworks coherently and consciously and analyses through logical process to make sense of them and derive meanings (Hakim 2000:34).

In qualitative inquiry, the researcher must be fair, trustful, and unbiased in conducting research activities. The integrity of the research can be maintained without being distant from the research subjects or people, and without being shy of using personal insights, feeling and perspectives to understand social life, by avoiding arbitrarily interjected personal opinion, being sloppy about data collection, and selective use of data to support personal prejudices (Neuman 2014, Gray 2014).

As a researcher working from an anti-positivism perspective, along with other researchers, the researcher disagrees with positivist assessments questioning the credibility of qualitative studies, arguing that qualitative studies are inappropriately assessed based on positivists/quantitative research criteria as most of what is called scientific criteria are born in the positivist/quantitative tradition found to be irrelevant in judging the credibility of qualitative research (O'Leary 2014, Walliman 2011). The fact that qualitative studies use words and text instead of number doesn't make the result less credible, in fact the use of in-depth and richness lead to greater insight in the production of knowledge of human society (Walliman 2011:73).

There are different types of qualitative research design: narrative study – stories about individuals lives, phenomenological study- inquiry on lived experience of individuals, ground theory

[4] Inductive approach **"**starts from specific observations or sensory experiences and then develops a general conclusion from them" – repetitive observations (data) lead to build theory or conclusion (Walliman, 2011:17)

study – build theory from collected data, ethnographic study- inquiry of shared patterns of behaviour, language and culture, case study – in-depth analysis of a single case (Williams 2007, Creswell 2014).

Qualitative research uses different techniques of data collection methods such as participant observation, interviews, focus group discussions, document analysis of literary texts, meeting minutes, historical records, policy documents, personal memos, and documentary video (Walliman 2011, Gray 2014).

This study employed qualitative research methodology specifically ethnographic research design and document analysis, time use survey and seasonal calendar.

3.5.1.2.1 Ethnographic research methodology

Ethnography, originally used by anthropologists and later adopted by a range of social science research, aims to seek rich insights into people's views and actions through gathering data on social interactions, behaviours, and perceptions (Reeves, Kuper & Hodges 2008:512). According to O'Leary (2014: 133) ethnography "literally means culture writing that explore ways of life from the point of view of its participants." Ethnography is basically one of the research methodologies or research designs "that guide a researcher in choosing methods and shape the use of the method chosen" (Crotty 1998:3). O'Reilly (2012) suggested that ethnography is more than a technique of data collection; it is rather a philosophical theory that guides the operation of research. Creswell (2014) sees ethnography as a design of inquiry that studies patterns of behaviour, language, group actions, and interactions and their culture in naturalistic way over an extended period of time. In this, ethnography takes a holistic form of study employed among a certain group who shares common culture, in investigating small number of cases (Leedy & Ormrod 2015:272). Ethnography mainly aims at providing holistic and rich insights on a group of people's behaviours, feelings, understanding, and actions as well as the environment in which they live, commonly through exhaustive observations and conversations (Reeves et al 2008:512). Ethnography explores also the roles of the environment and the meaning of a place in everyday lived experience through creating a phenomenological understanding on how individuals comprehend and engage their physical and social environments in everyday life (Kusenbach 2003:456).

The role of ethnography as one of the research methodologies involves producing descriptive cultural knowledge, the description of the activities in relation to the cultural context of a certain group of the society, description of constitutive features of membership of the group or culture, provision of insider accounts, and generating theory (Bhattacherjee 2012:40). Having originated from the

discipline of anthropology, ethnography seeks to understand socio-cultural phenomena through deep engagement of the researcher in the social culture over reasonably longer period of time and study culture of the society through observation and recording the daily life of the participants within their natural settings (Bhattacherjee 2012:40).

A naturalistic setting, according to Tracy (2013:29), is a process of inquiry that involves the researcher's regular visits to or presence in an area where context-based social phenomena is occurring and examines societies as they regularly act. The narrative produced from the researcher's immersion into empirical domains of cultural context, reflects the subjectivity of both the researcher and the researched (Dey 2002:108). The researcher's ethnographic narrations of subjective experiences and meaning of cultural context depends on the conceptual basis chosen by the researcher and his/her ontological and epistemological assumptions (Dey 2002:108).

Despite ethnography being commonly known as heavily relying on qualitative data collection (Schensul & LeCompte 2012:20); it is still possible to apply ethnographic method for quantitative data as many anthropologists trained in ethnography have long employed the method for quantitative data as well (Whitehead 2005:2). What distinguishes ethnographic research from other researches is its commitment to direct exploration of the community's concerns, its continuous exposure and engagement with the research setting, its creation of naturalistic settings conducive for face-to-face interactions with research settings (people, events, and social phenomena), and its commitment to understand the social world from the viewpoint of the targeted people in the study- field experience (Schensul & LeCompte 2012, Kusenbach 2003).

The focus of an ethnographic study is a cultural group, a group of people who share common social traditions, patterns of behaviour, beliefs, and understanding that can be a group based on ethnicity, community, or workplace (O'Leary 2014, Dey 2002). Understanding a cultural group is important because individual actions and views are constructed and constrained by group experiences (O'Leary 2014, Whitehead 2005). However, it is important to note that, researchers that employ ethnography to their research are not expected to analyze the entire range of group culture; instead they are more likely to focus on one or two cases relevant to the theme of their studies or research questions (Tracy 2013:29).

Qualitative researches including ethnography give more emphases to social context, because the social context determines the meanings of social actions, events or statements and therefore, failure to see social action, events, and conversations from a particular social context, could result in distorting the meanings and altering their social significances (Neuman 2014). Social context can be expressed

in different forms: "time context- when something occurs, place context – where it happens, emotional context – feeling about events, and socio-cultural context – situation of society and cultural milieu in which events take place" (Neuman 2014:177). In the assessment of daily life and culture of the people, ethnography distances itself from using pre-determined frame of references and judgments, instead it relies entirely on critical observations and explorations of everyday life of the group and understands things the way participant group do, and the meanings they use to understand the world. This means it requires understanding and defining the world from the participant point of views or participant accounts through deeply immersing themselves into the culture (thick description) and situations of the participants and making reflections on their conversations and observations (O'Leary 2014, Whitehead 2005).

Ethnography requires understanding of situations from the perspective of the group under study, not from the perspective of the researcher or theory. To explain this, Tracy (2013:21) distinguished emic and etic concepts. Emic is the understanding of phenomena and description of behaviour and meanings from the actors' perspective while etic understands of phenomena based on the external criteria that researchers have imposed, instead of specific to a given cultural context. The former is important in qualitative research in general and in ethnographic research in particular. This is mainly because in ethnography, it is well accepted that research participants have unique insights about their own culture than the researchers (Jupp 2006:100). In this aspect, ethnography has been criticized for being too descriptive, but it is argued that by producing 'thick' descriptions about social phenomena or events, ethnography "builds understanding of underlying frameworks that produce both behaviour and meanings is an act of discovery and interpretation as much as it is an act of description" (O'Leary 2014:134). Researchers provide thick descriptions of specific contexts by immersing themselves in a culture and producing meaning from this thick contextual description (Tracy 2013, Jupp 2006). For the duration, the researcher spent with participants, the frequency of his/her contacts with participants, and the level of understanding the meaning of participant action and events are very important factors to understand the context of culture from the point of view of the participants (Jupp 2006:100).

Ethnography cannot be purely inductive research as many people believe, instead ethnographic research also involves deductive reasoning, because ethnographic researcher goes to the research field/setting/ with at least some ideas, questions, theories, experiences, prior knowledge and understanding as well as paradigm position that guide and shape the research process and the interpretation (Schensul & LeCompte 2012:21).

O'Reilly (2012:13) summarizes what ethnography does and what it entails. According to O'Reilly, ethnography is best described as practice that should be informed by theoretical perspective, that involves continues interaction and direct contact with the participant group in a naturalistic setting. It employs ranges of data collection methods usually participant observation and interviews, to come-up with thick descriptions, sensitive and credible stories and understands that the interaction between structure and agency in daily life practices. It also involves the researcher's self-reflexivity on own roles in the production of knowledge of social life.

Based on the debate in anthropology that categories some methods as being purely ethnographic and others as not, Whitehead (2005:2) classified ethnographic method into classical, basic classical and non-classical ethnographic methods. According to Whitehead (2005:2) classical ethnographic method refers to methods that anthropologists commonly employ to human population and community, it includes sketching and mapping of the study setting, recording of household censuses and lineages, assessing social network and relationship, using pictures and other media methods such as sound and visual recordings.

Basic classical ethnographic method is not only employed to human population and community but also applied to other societal relations and settings such as organizations, institutions and any other sets in which people are interacting. This refers to methods that are commonly used by anthropologists, which include document analysis, field observations on activities of interest, recording field notes, participant observation, informal interview and semi-structured interview. Non-classical ethnographic methods are those methods that are adopted by non-anthropologist and ethnographic researchers who are interested to assess the cultural domain of the concerned problems. This ethnographic method includes, focus and group interviews, ICT based techniques such as Geographic Information System (GIS) and maps, structured and formal interview which may include psychometric scales and other cognitive elicitation and measurement methods (Whithead 2005:2).

As this study aims to gain an in-depth understanding on how gender relations will be explained in the agricultural value chain setting in Arsi Zone, Ethiopia, specifically in the dairy and vegetables value chain, it mainly used the ethnography methodology to collect data. Here the study specifically employed basic classical ethnographic methods such as participant observation, recording field notes, informal and semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and secondary document analysis that were administered on selected individuals, primary cooperative organizations, grower association, and community. The researcher found basic classical ethnography relevant to this study in relation to both the content and the disciplinary ways of this particular study because classical and non-classical

methods are on the extreme edge of the ethnographic method continuum**.** But this study falls in between the two continua as it employed ethnography in a medium-term as compared with classical ethnography that often employs pure ethnographic method traditionally used by the anthropologists and non-classical ethnography that uses non-traditional ethnography.

In interpreting the context of a particular culture, ethnography has moved away from conventional methods to more empirical domains to address various research needs (Dey 2002:108). Besides of its main function of as a means to identify local perspectives and the category of their various experiences, ethnography also serves as a means to widen top-down views and enrich the research process through tapping both bottom-up insights and as well as the perspective of decision makers at the top (Genzuk 2003:2).

Despite ethnographic studies, in its conventional form, having contributed to the sum of knowledge, there is criticism on ethnography for being of mere academic exercise with little values of the final narration to benefit the society (Dey 2002, Naidoo 2012). Consequently, there is a need to move to critical ethnography, which holds critical intents on unequal socio-cultural relations in a given social setting, and more importantly contrary to conventional ethnography, critical ethnography aimed at transforming existing social settings, rather than simply describing these social settings the way they are (May 1997:197). Within the frameworks of conventional ethnography, critical ethnography goes beyond uncovering sociocultural knowledge of a group of people or society on specific context, by offering critiques on culture and suggestions on how the local knowledge can be used in altering the patterns of unequal social relations (Averill 2006:3). Critical ethnography discloses the effect of politics on knowledge production and contextualizes the influence of dominant ideology and power on marginalized groups of the society with the aim of empowering and liberating them (O'Leary 2014).

In line with this, this study used basic classical ethnography with a critical intent on unequal gender relations in agricultural value chains. As this study aims to gain in-depth understanding of how gender relations are explained in the agricultural value chain setting in Arsi Zone, Ethiopia, specifically in dairy and vegetables value chain, it uses critical ethnographic methodology. It specifically employed basic classical ethnographic methods such as participant observation, recording field notes, informal and semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and secondary document analysis which were administered on selected individuals, primary cooperative organizations, grower associations and community.

The main reasons why vegetable and dairy value chains were chosen for this study are that first, despite women participating in most agricultural and livestock production activities, their engagement

in vegetable and dairy production and marketing is higher than in other crop production and marketing. Second, in the study area of Ethiopia, vegetables and dairy sub-sectors have better value chain organizations than the rest of the crop livestock sub-sectors where gender relations in the production, processing, and marketing can be assessed.

The critical ethnographic approach was selected for the study because it fits the critical paradigm theory adopted to this study. Leedy and Ormrod (2015:272) identified three steps to conduct ethnographic research: (i) researcher's presence in the study area or gaining access to research site, (ii) researcher must establish good relationship with research participant group and build trust, and (iii) Researcher should identify key informants from the participant group, using big network he/she has created with everyone.

Ethnography uses observational techniques extensively to acquire data in naturalistic real-life settings and heavily relies on constructs of the participants in structuring the investigation, explaining causations and theory generations (Cohen et al 2007, O'Leary 2014). Bhattacherjee (2012) suggested that, despite ethnography primarily using participant observation for data collection and 'sense making' of the cultural context of the participants, the researcher should also take field notes and narrate story. In addition to participant observation, it also uses interview, discussions with key informants, archival research (Williams 2007, Tracy 2013) participant action research, memos and field notes, sketching maps, visual materials, documentaries, informal conversation, in-depth interview, semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews and/or surveys (Watson & Till 2010:122). Schensul and LaCompte (2012) supported the use of mixed methods for data collection in ethnography, arguing that this method could better address problems related to epistemological differences and disagreements. The fact that ethnography uses different methods has helped in triangulation of methods – compare and contrast results obtained from different methods and provides reliable research results, as sometimes what people say can contrast what they actually do (Reeves et al 2008:513).

3.6 Research methods

Methodology as a general framework strategy and assumption that guides research process will lead researcher to choose best suited methods and techniques for data collection and analyses (O'Leary, 2014, Creswell 2014). Research methods are all methods, techniques, and procedures used in conducting research for data collection and analysis (Crotty 1998, Kothari 2004). These methods involve interviews, focus group discussion, survey questionnaire, participant observation, case study, document analysis and different techniques used in the laboratory (Kothari 2004:7).

The choice of research methods should also be traced back to the underpinning methodological frameworks we used and ontological and epistemological assumptions of the paradigm adopted in a particular research (Scotland 2012:10). In choosing research methods for data collection, the decision lies on the underlying research question, because well-articulated and clear research question will lead the researcher to choose best suited research methods that contribute to address the research question (O'Leary 2014, Scontland 2012).

As this study is qualitative in nature, qualitative methods employed in this study are discussed in detail. Qualitative research methods are important in providing valuable insights into the local perspectives of the study populations (Mack, Woodsong, Macqueen, Guest & Namey 2005:1). A qualitative research approach is knowledge production in applying inductive as well as deductive logic, appreciating subjectivities, accepting multiple perspectives and realities and recognizing the power of research on the researched and the researcher, reflecting on even political agendas when necessary (O' Leary 2014:130). The approach captures critical insights from people's or organization's behaviour, beliefs, and meanings, through exploring meanings, processes, reasons and explanations and actions. It is useful in getting deep insight and understanding into the behaviour, beliefs, and meanings of the entities (situations, people, and institutions) to be studied (Hannabuss 2000:99). Qualitative data collection methods offer flexibility in the interaction between the researcher and the participants; it gives the chance for the researcher to probe initial participant responses, offers less formal relationships between the researcher and respondents that gives the opportunity for the respondents to elaborate and give detail explanation of the responses (Mack et al 2005:4).

3.6.1 Selection of research areas and participants

This study is conducted in Arsi administrative zone of Oromia Regional State, located in the southeast part of Ethiopia. The study used dairy and vegetables value chains to analyse gender mainstreaming in three purposively selected districts based on the availability of the organized growers of the two commodities (value chains) and supporting farmers' organization such as primary cooperatives: Tiyo for dairy and vegetables, Lode Hetosa for vegetables and Lemu Bilbilo for dairy. The researcher agrees with Guetterman (2015) that unlike in quantitative method where researchers determine strict and constant sample size before beginning the study; in the qualitative method there is no such single stringent sampling technique to follow, but it is a continuous process of decisions throughout the research process. Value chains in different districts were selected purposively based

on the availability of value chains of selected commodities—vegetables and dairy—and their gender compositions. It has already been noted that in the study area the engagement of women in vegetable and dairy production and marketing is high than in other crop production and marketing, and vegetables and dairy sub-sectors have better value chain organizations than the rest of the crops livestock sub-sectors where gender relations in the production, processing, and marketing can be assessed.

Once value chains were identified, the purposive sampling[5] technique was used to select participants particularly for interviews with the intention to include women of female-headed households, women in male-headed households and men in male-headed households. The criteria for the selection of respondents were their engagement in one of the value chain activities as inputs suppliers producer, processor and traders, and related activities. From each group, research participants were obtained using snowball sampling technique. After the researcher had contacted a few participants through his contacts with development officers in each district, each participant was asked to refer him to someone whom she/he knows meet similar criteria. Snowball sampling is one of the non-probability sampling techniques that uses chain of participants to refer the researcher to other similar participants (Taherdoost 2016:22). Research participants in structured and semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions were selected from input suppliers, producers, employees/labourers, collectors, processors and traders of vegetable and dairy. Structured and semi-structured interviews were administered with 45 women and 15 men respondents. To gain more insight on the effects of socio-cultural practices on gender equality and women's agency, additional in-depth interviews were held with 15 women selected both from male-headed households and female-headed households, five from each district. Given that most research questions have been addressed in extensive structured and semi-structured interviews, the researcher believes that informal in-depth interviews with 15 respondents were practically adequate to illuminate on women's accounts on the reality of gender relations.

In addition to the above-mentioned 60 research participants who were contacted on an individual basis, in each district, participants were selected purposively from value chain governing committee, development agents, district agriculture office, district cooperative promotion office and representative from women's affairs office of the district.

3.6.2 Data Collection

[5] Purposive sampling is a technique where researchers select research participants deliberately with the intention to acquire important information that could not be obtained otherwise (Taherdoost 2016:23)

The qualitative data collection methods used in the study are participant observation, in-depth interviews and structured interviews, focus group discussions, and document analyses. These selected methods fall under the typical ethnographic research approach that use these techniques to generate data in the form of quotations, descriptions, and excerpts of documents, which together produce narrative description (Genzuk 2003). The following methods were used in this study:

- Structured participant observation in the three districts: Tiyo (vegetable growers, dairy farmers, Lode Hetosa (vegetable value chain) and Lemu Bilbilo (dairy value chain)
- Structured and semi-structured interviews with vegetable and dairy value chain participants comprising, input suppliers, producers, collectors, and traders
- In-depth interviews with 15 value chain members, five from each district
- Focus group discussions with member of value chains participants comprising five women and three men of each value chain. The aim of the focus group discussions is to gain a better understanding of social issues, structural barriers, and women's agency. Participants of focus group discussions were selected from members of purposively selected for interviews with whom the interviews had already been conducted. They were selected based on their consent to participate, ability to communicate and value chain active membership.
- In each district, in-depth interviews were held with key informants from value chain governing committee, development agents, district agriculture office, district cooperative promotion office and representative from women's affairs office of the district. Key informant interview is a qualitative in-depth interview with people who have better knowledge on certain subjects that cannot be found with ordinary people (Ali, David & Ching 2013:133). Key informants for this study were selected based on their exposure and knowledge they possessed in the areas of development policy, gender policy, governance, value chain operations and other related economic, social and political operations.
- Document analyses – Growth and Transformation Policy (GTP), agricultural growth plan (AGP), women's affairs policy documents.

The detailed techniques used for data collection in this study are discussed below.

3.6.2.1 Participant observation

Participant observation, sometimes called fieldwork, is one of the data collection methods systematically designed and planned by the researcher to take notes on wide ranges of information through being involved in social setting and mindful of their surroundings (Tracy 2013:65). Mack et

al (2005:13) explain participant observation as a method traditionally associated with ethnographic research that helps researchers to learn and understand the perspectives of the participants by observing and participating in the daily activities of the community, in community's setting, on selected context relevant to the research problem. Unlike non-participant observation in which researchers entirely rely on their senses to observe sociocultural practices of the society and their natural environment without physically participating in social activities; in participant observations, researchers note observation while they are participating in social actions (Whitehead 2005:16). In participant observation, researchers must jot down or capture anything that found relevant with their subject, cover wider areas throughout the community as much as possible, and be attentive to describe as much as possible the full details of what has been observed (Bernard, Pelto, Werner, Boster, Romney, Johnson, Ember, & Kaskof 1986:388).

Observation as a method of data collection is often more than simply looking at the action or event and then recording the facts. It is a rather more complex action arising from a combination of senses (see, hear, touch, smell, and taste) and perceptions (Gray 2014, Whitehead 2005). Observation can only be a scientific tool when it is systematically and purposefully planned and recorded with a research question in mind (Kothari 2004:96).

According to Watson and Till (2010:126), participant observations involves communications with human beings and nonhuman natures, "descriptions and reflections of physical and emotional experiences," taking field notes on everyday physically observable encounters, emotionally imbedded feelings and social dynamics that should be presented in a manner of discovery than ordinary field report. Generally, in participant observation researchers should make observation of the spaces (how the place looks like), players or actors (peoples involved), activities in which people are engaged, events (occurrence of actions), time when certain events take place, object (available cultural items), emotions that people felt, the goals (what people strive to achieve) (Spradley 1980:53). To these end Whitehead (2005:12) suggested additional observational categories to be included in participant observation namely actors' language, patterns of interaction, actor groups in the social system, discourse content in the setting as observed in language, culture, and social interactions in the setting.

Participant observation helps the researchers assign meaning to behaviour, verify stories of participants, and identify various stories of the participants within the research setting (Hornberger & Corson 1997:198). Participant observation can also help the researchers to see the discrepancy between what respondents tell and what they actually do, as there is sometimes contradictory between what people say they believe and what they actually do (Mack et al 2005:14). Furthermore, participant

observation enables researchers to fully engage themselves in naturally occurring phenomena, and then come up with rich insights of social action and its intricacies in various contexts and it also gives them the opportunity to unfold more empirical insights into sociocultural practices which otherwise would have been invisible (Reeves et al 2008, Mack et al 2005).

As it was have already noted in chapter one, my choice of the research topic arose from my working experiences in the same areas and observations of the research subjects. The aim of participant observation is, through close intimacy with participants' life and their activities and experiencing research settings as insider, to understands insider's views, behaviours, and knowledge, this implies that "the researcher not only see what is happening but "feels" what it is like to be part of the group" (Genzuk 2003:2). In documenting and reporting information gathered through participant observations, the researcher is mindful of the danger of making self-pleasure-seeking opinions and egotistical narrations that make my position central without missing visibility of my reflections.

In this study, participant observation was widely used throughout the entire research process from the early research proposal development phase in 2016 to the actual field data collection and explorations of available sources phase in 2017 and 2018. The fact that the researcher was working as a value chain expert in Arsi Zone while he was developing my thesis proposal has given me the opportunity to immerse myself in day-to-day activities of the people being studied which in turn helped him to identify the critical areas of observations in relation with my research themes. With the consent of subjects/people and agencies observed, he gathered various information and data on social settings, cultural practices, gender division of labor, resource allocations, participation, and women's agencies.

3.6.2.2 Interview methods

An interview is structured or unstructured conversations between respondent(s) and researcher (Gray 2014, O'Leary 2014). An interview is data collection method in which the researcher seeks the voice of the interviewee(s) needs to be drawn out (O'Leary 2014:217). The philosophical approach that underpins knowledge production can determine the conceptualization of the interview (Edwards & Hollands 2013:2). For instance, researcher that adopts emancipatory critical paradigm in his/her study (like in this study) use qualitative interviews that could address the tension between the powerful and the marginalized ones (Edwards & Hollands 2013:2).

Different scholars give different categories of the interview method from different perspectives. Hakim (2000:35) sees types of interviews as in-depth interview and group interview. Gray (2004:215)

divided interview into structured interview, semi-structured interview, non-directive interview, focused interview, and informal conversational interview. O'Leary (2014:218) categorized an interview from different perspectives based on:

- The manner in which the interview will be conducted. Interviews can be divided into formal and informal interview
- The level of maintaining or following certain structures. The interview is classified as, structured semi-structured and unstructured interviews
- The number of people the researcher interview at a time. The interview can be differentiated as one to one interview, multiple interviews (with more than one person at a time) and focus group interview in which 4-12 people participate in the form of discussion.

This study uses semi-structured interviews, unstructured in-depth interviews and focus group interview. All the qualitative interviews seek rich descriptions of phenomena from the interviewee(s) and explore meanings and their perceptions to gain a better understanding of the problem (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006:314).

A structured interview presents similar questions to different interviewees in the same order and pattern with less flexibility available to the interviewer, often aimed at producing quantitative related data and more used in the quantitative survey approach (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006, Edwards & Hollands 2013). This study uses a structured interview for a time use survey to describe how women spend and manage their time on daily basis in their engagement of production, reproduction and other activities.

Semi-structured interviews are types of interview method in which the researcher follows a predetermined structure of inquiry, with the flexibility of probing for further insights based on the responses from the interviewee(s) (Bernard et al 1986:384). The semi-structured interview includes preset open-ended questions and on-spot emerging questions arise from the conversations between researcher and respondent (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006:316).

An unstructured interview is routinely used as an informal or conversational interview commonly used in ethnographic research alongside observation techniques, which gives the interviewer the opportunity of gaining more understanding of issues through probing, questioning and discussing the matter with people in naturalistic way (Reeves et al 2008:513). Ethnographic research mostly uses unstructured and in-depth interviews with the people from the group that shares particular culture with the aim of gaining the cultural meaning of their perspectives (Jupp 2006:157).

In-depth interviews are one form of unstructured interviews that entail distinctive features of having structures with flexibility (have at least topic or themes that guide research), being interactive in nature between researcher and participant(s), using various probing techniques to obtain thick responses with elaborations in order to fully understand the meaning of participants, and generating knowledge or thoughts that may contribute to address the research problem (Legard, Keegan & Ward 2003:138:141). In-depth interviews are useful when the researcher is interested in exploring detailed information on individual motivation, behaviour, and views or wants to understand further about new issues coming up during interviews (Hakim 2000, Boyce & Neale 2006).

It involves detailed interviews with participants, usually in a one-to-one situation, to obtain the views and perspectives on particular queries or ideas (Mack et al 2005:30). In-depth interviews being unstructured type of interviews can be conducted within the variable length of time that could take up to five hours and may be prolonged to finish sometimes at later dates (Hakim 2000:35). In-depth interviews give the opportunity for the participants to express their feelings around the subject without restriction and hence they are effective in obtaining rich insights and views of the participants on research problems (Gray 2014, Mack et al 2005). The role of the interviewer is mainly limited to listening and checking on unclear responses and reviewing accuracies (Gray 2014, Legard et al 2003). Focus group interview/discussion is an interview with a group of people that could take the form of a group discussion consisting of four to 12 participants (usually eight is ideal) to discuss on selected issues for about one to two hours in the presence of interviewer as moderator (Hakim 2000:35).

In this study structured and semi-structured interviews were conducted with purposively selected 45 women and 15 men respondents of which 35 and 25 respondents were from vegetable and dairy value chains respectively. Despite efforts were made to include respondents particularly women from all value chains' actors; however, there are some value chain activities in which women are rarely engaged. For instance input supply and some marketing activities such as collecting for traders. Direct transcription was used for structured and semi-structured interviews while audio and video records were used for in-depth interviews.

Except some facilitation supports received from extension supervisor of the respective district and Development Agents of the research areas in identifying, pre-contacting, and arranging appointments for visiting selected respondents; the actual interviews were conducted entirely by the researcher on face-to-face basis over 8 months. Since the researcher is a native speaker of the respondents' language, Afan Oromo, and well acquainted with local culture, there were no major cultural shocks for the researcher during the interview. However there was incident that two of the

selected women respondents of male-headed households in Lemu Bilbilo district refused to participate in the interview knowing that the interviewer was male as they referred that their religion doesn't allow to talk to man except her husband. Consequently the researcher decided to drop those respondents and finally replaced them with other women. The researcher's observation on this incident was that, despite in Arsi Zone Islam has been one of the dominant religions, as far as the researcher knows, conservatism in some religious practices of Islam is definitely recent phenomenon that has come out as religious-based cultural dynamism which the researcher believes will have some impacts on gender equality and women empowerment movements and practices.

In the course of conducting in-depth interviews particularly with women respondents, it was beyond my expectations that they openly shared with me their experiences and views on household gender relations, socio-cultural dynamics that determine these gender relations and their agencies on transforming these settings.

In key informant interviews what has been observed in related to the interviews on gender power relations in the study areas, most officeholders, community leaders, and representative from different development organizations would like to talk about the ideal situation of what is supposed to be rather than what is actually practiced on the ground. This implies that the reality of gender power relations can only be fully grasped through in-depth interviews, particularly with women.

Though the researcher was extremely excited and thrilled for being a researcher of the inclusive subject- gender study, he was also undeniably felt uneasy and puzzled for the fact that in one way or another, the subordination of women in the social world is associated with the dominations of men.

3.6.2.3 Focus group discussions

A focus group interview can be used as supplementary to individual one-to-one interview method to gain more insights on participant views, beliefs, and values about selected topic relevant to the research problem (Edwards & Hollands 2013:38). A focus group interview is commonly used to explore the group views and their needs on the delivery of certain services in their community for example marketing services (Mack et al 2005:51).

Focus group discussions with key informants of the value chain participants were conducted in the districts' offices. Participants of focus group discussions were selected from respondents who were purposively selected for interviews and with whom the interviews had already been conducted. They were selected based on their consent to participate, ability to communicate and value chain members.

The focus group discussion is essential to observe and understand the gender perspective dynamics in dairy and vegetable value chains in the study areas and capture the perceptions of men

and women on the existing socio-economic and development operations. To ensure in-depth responses and clarity of the discussion the focus group discussions were organized and monitored by the researcher himself with minor facilitation supports received from the extension supervisor of the respective district in organizing the events and preparing venues. As moderator of focus group discussions, the researcher prepared a checklist for the discussions and forwarded them to the group in the form of broad questions to discuss. To avoid dominance of men in the focus group discussion, the number of women in the group was deliberately kept higher than the number of men. At the same time on each theme of the discussion, women were encouraged to give their views on each point. Data from the focus group discussions were recorded with audio tape recorder, after having obtained the permission of the participants. The researcher took notes on observations to complement responses and discussions.

3.6.2.4 Document analysis

Document analysis according to O'Leary (2014:250) is the process of "collecting, reviewing, interrogating, and analysing various forms of text data as a primary source of research." Document analyses are useful in capturing and documenting inaccessible past history, conducting longitudinal studies, of how situations have changed over time, in saving costs and time when they are available in the library and accessible archives, exploring valuable information from different sources, and gaining insight into the subject under study (Cohen et al 2007:191).

Qualitative researchers "consider documents and statistical reports to be cultural objects, or media that communicate social meanings" (Neuman 2014:372). They don't see these documents as neutral sources; instead, they are engaged in examining and explaining how these documents are created (the intension), distributed and receipted and analysis them in a social context, thus they attach social meaning to them (Neuman 2014:372).

Though some documents are written for research purposes, most of them have been written for different purposes, motivations, and agendas that target non-researcher audiences in which the question of reliability and validity comes in (Cohen et al 2007:192). Documents obtained from organizations may not be taken as factual evidence of what they report; instead, they should be treated seriously and must be examined in relation to the context of organisational setting and its cultural values (Gray 2014, Jupp 2006). Hence, the significance of these documents depends on historical circumstances in which they produced the reputation of the source that relates to their circulation and

reception, as well as our interpretation and how we use the documents (Jupp 2006:79). O'Leary (2014:247) suggested that in using documents as primary sources of data, the researcher should thoughtfully consider the credibility of the sources, recognize the bias and purpose of the author, understand circumstances of production, targeted audiences, and the motive and political purpose of the production. In using documents analysis for social research, Scott (2014:6-8) suggested that the specific nature of documentary sources requires the consideration of four criteria.

1. Authenticity – refers to whether the source of the document is genuine and reliable. Untrustworthy sources could lead the researcher to the wrong conclusion; therefore the researcher must know the extent to which the origin of the evidence is dependable, so that informed judgment about the quality of data can be made
2. Credibility – is concerned with the extent to which documents are free from error or distortion. Since most social events are prone to distortion, as there are always elements of subjectivity, prejudice, viewpoint involved in describing social reality, the sincerity and accuracy of the document producer must be assessed
3. Representativeness – this refers to the judgment of whether the document is representative of the similar available documents or if not, at least it must be clearly indicated the extent to which it is unrepresentative.
4. Meaning – refers to the extent to which the contents of the document are valuable and clear to make understandable the meaning (both literal and interpretive) to the researcher.

The documents analysed in this study are Ethiopian Government's official documents, specifically the Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP), the Central Statistical Agency (CSA) data and reports, agricultural development policy documents, gender policy and strategy documents, secondary data, and research findings on gender and development. These documents were accessed both in hard and soft copy with permission granted from the respective government organizations.

Unlike most quantitative studies conducted in Ethiopia that often heavily rely on government documents such as official CSA data, government documents and reports, this study used document analysis in combinations with other qualitative methods. Furthermore, document analysis in this study was used as evidence of government policy operations and implementations of the development programs such as agriculture and value chain development programs in relation to gender equality and women's empowerment.

The researcher is aware and mindful of the challenges and limitations of using secondary documents, particularly government sources, and the need to question their reliability,

representativeness, motives, and timeliness. The researcher believes that most available government sources—including the reliable official government documents and statistics—are not often representative of marginalized populations. Moreover, most available sources are out-dated and non-technical reports aimed at maintaining governing party images and pleasing the international donor organizations. Many efforts were made to ensure the authenticity of the secondary documents used in the study as much as possible through using different sources and relying on relatively reliable sources such as official government documents, reports and data from the international development organizations.

In addition to the above-mentioned data collection techniques, the study also used time- use survey on how women on daily sis spend their time on unpaid caretaking activities and participate in agricultural value chain activities. Floro and King (2016:5) argue that information gathered from a survey will give the real picture of women's, men's, and children's contributions to the economy more than the conventional economic measures; a survey unveils and measures unpaid caregiving activities and household production that contribute to the well-being of household members and yet remain uncounted in national statistics (Floro & King 2016, Dong & An 2015). In doing so, time use survey generates useful statistics that impact the advancement of gender equality, through documenting the disproportionate amount of time women spend to unpaid work (Gross & Swirski 2002, Floro & King: 2016). In this study, a time use survey as a data collection method will capture how caregiving activities and household work constrains women's ability to effectively participate in the market oriented agricultural value chain of dairy and vegetable production in the study area.

Lastly, seasonal calendar-based activities by gender will be used, to assess the extent to which activities engaged by men and women vary from season to season. A seasonal calendar is one of the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) tools developed to assess seasonal changes in agricultural activities, labour force participation in agricultural and non-agricultural activities and other changes in natural and physical environment, as well as socio-cultural patterns of the society (Chambers 1994:960).

3.7 Data analysis

Data analysis is the most important task of conducting a successful research project, that involves working with data to achieve important findings in relation to the main focus of the research project, relating such findings to the theoretical framework of the chosen subject, offering reflections on generalizable findings or ideas that can be applied in other context, and interpreting data by innovatively producing insights from them (Gibson & Brown 2011:6). Qualitative data analysis is the

process of categorizing and interpreting recorded participant language (words) or visual materials and makes a reflection on their implicit and explicit dimensions (Flick 2013:5). Qualitative data analysis involves tasks of identifying themes to which mass number of textual data are categorized, seeking the relationship between various identified themes, describing and summarizing the mass of data in the thematic form, and driving implication for policy and practice through interpreting data in relation to research question and theory (Lacey & Luff 2005:6).

In qualitative data analysis, researchers need to take into account the three most important considerations according to Baptiste (2001):

1. Philosophical consideration – refers to the researcher's interests, values, and beliefs, epistemological assumption, and theoretical position on particular phenomena or inquiries
2. Consideration of design – includes the research method and strategies adopted that could impose restriction on the analytical process. For instance, phenomenology and ethnography certainly require different analytical procedures
3. Contextual consideration – refers to analyst's knowledge, skill, resources (financial and time), influence, and power that may influence the intensity of analytical use.

In qualitative research, it is generally claimed that there no stringent sequences to follow in data analysis, hence, the process of conceptualizing, defining theory and hypothesis making is ongoing, conditional and working matters (Gubrium & Holstein 2014:21). Likewise, analytical inspiration that provides insights and roadmap into research process must also presented continually. In qualitative research, data analysis can be done during data collection or while the process of data collection is still in progress (Jacelon & O'Dell 2005:217). This will help the researcher to make instant corrective measures in the further data collection process.

Glaser and Laudel (2013) discussed two methods of qualitative data analysis, namely coding and qualitative content analysis that can be employed at the early stage of data analysis to specifically qualitative research that aimed at identifying 'casual mechanism' or 'social mechanism' where existing theory can be integrated in to identified patterns.

Coding is the process of assigning code to text that enables texts indexed. A researcher can derive codes either from existing theory or from collected raw data itself. Coding is the oldest and most popular data analysis technique traditionally known in grounded theory research, but has been later adopted and used in most other qualitative research approaches as well. The importance of code is to provide the core point of the segment of text data and helpful in referring back or retrieving the

text in the processing of data analysis. Glaser and Laudel (2013) identified two major limitations of using codes: the first is related to the larger number of codes used in coding which can be sometimes difficult to memorize each code; the second is related to the extent to which coding might capture important texts and often it is to lesser extent and therefore it may exclude the relevant text segments.

Qualitative content analysis is a data analysis method that uses categories as a tool for extraction of data that uses the possibility to produce categories from prior theory (Glaser & Laudel 2013). It is a method that systematically describes qualitative data by assigning a portion of transcribed textual data into categories of coding frame (Schreier 2014:2). Qualitative content analysis can apply deductive qualitative research where theory guides research and the process of data analysis involves the categorization of data using the theoretical framework already being used for data collection (Glaser & Laudel 2013).

According to Schreier (2014:2-3) qualitative content analysis offers three distinctive features over other qualitative data analysis methods which open up data: first, it reduces the amount of materials or data, by focusing on selected aspect of meaning relevant to the research question. Second it is highly systematic in the sense that it starts by examining each part of the material in relation to research questions beyond one's assumptions and expectations about the material, it is systematic in following certain sequential steps that involves iterative process of the steps and modification of frame code, it is also systematic in using coding[6] than can be done twice to confirm that it yields similar result in both coding stages. The third feature of qualitative content analysis is its flexibility in terms of using both theory-driven and data-driven within one coding frame.

As described above, the framework analysis and qualitative content analysis are similar to data analysis in their flexibility to include prior concepts and in having clear steps that they follow in the data analysis.

This study employs qualitative content analysis as the study uses existing theory to identify the categories of collected data, from participant observation, interview, and focus group discussion. Furthermore, qualitative content analysis is appropriate for research employing critical analysis that focuses on description than theory building (Schreier 2014:18). In adopting general a thematic analysis relevant to qualitative content analysis used by Lacy and Luff (2009), Glaser and Laudel (2013), and Schreier (2014), the study uses the following practical steps as a process of data analysis.

[6] Coding is "assigning segments of the material to the categories of the coding frame" (Schreier, 2014).

3.7.1 Transcription of data

Transcription is the process of transferring data gathered during observations interviews and focus group discussions into written format (Sutton & Austin 2015:228). In addition to the audio-recorded data, the researcher should include things that have not been adequately captured in audio-records such as non-verbal cues, impressions, emotions, environmental context, and behaviour (Lacey & Luff 2009, Sutton & Austin 2015). The researcher transcribed the data from the audio tape recorded during data collection. While audio tape was used for interviews and focus group discussion, images and field notes were used to capture data related to observation.

3.7.2 Organizing data

Data need to be organized in a retrievable way. This was done by assigning codes for each file that contains transcription from each interview. Data gathered from field observation are kept with clear remarks on the date and the place of data collection and other detail in each section of the field note.

3.7.2.1 Coding frame

Coding frame according to Schreier (2014:7) is central to qualitative data analysis. The process includes selecting materials in such a way that avoiding overload while maintaining the diversity of the sources and the suitability of the materials (Glaser & Laudel, 2013). It also includes formation of categories, defining categories by giving them a name and describing what it means, and working on revising and expanding the code, that is, checking the structure of the coding frame for further improvement (Schreier 2014:7).

In cases where the researcher uses framework analysis or qualitative content analysis, prior concepts or theory can be used in conceptualizing categories/themes and then select textual material from the data that could be categorized and coded under this category/theme. But in case the researcher uses the grounded theory approach for data analysis, the theme must come first from the data itself, though at later stage theoretical literature can be used in the analysis (Lacey & Luff 2009:25).

Qualitative content analysis approach uses extracting contents from text rather than indexing/coding. Extracting is the process of identifying and separating relevant contents from the raw data or from transcribed text information, adding up in to the categories and move in to the database for further analysis, on the other hand indexing/coding is the process of assigning categories to the text data or it is the process of adding information about where the raw data belong to, without

changing the raw data (Glaser & Laudel 2013). In qualitative content analysis, categories that are either derived from existing theory or collected data, are used as a tool for extraction of contents. The extracted contents as Scherier puts it are coding units to which further data analysis and meaningful interpretation will be employed. Coding units are segments of content of the materials that exactly fit into one category or subcategory (Schreier 2014:16).

The extraction process involves, identifying relevant contents from the data text, identifying categories based on either theoretical concepts or collected data or both, rephrasing information of the contents from the text as short and concise statements in relation to the dimension of category, assigning contents to the category where they belong, and collect contents separately and tabulate them according to the dimension of categories (Glaser & Laudel 2013).

In the main analysis step of qualitative content analysis, the researcher should check whether all the relevant contents are divided into coding units exhaustively and were assigned to the relevant category in the coding frame consistently.

The final step of analysis is the process of making coding readily suitable to answer research questions. In this process, the first step is to transform coding from the unit of coding level to the cases (interviewees) level, by creating a new matrix for the data where columns contain categories in similar way of the coding frame, but rows contain cases instead of coding units (Schreier 2014:16). Finally, mapping and interoperation follows using visual plots that aid searching patterns, relations, and explanation of the categories in relation to answering the research question (Lecay & Luff 2009:15). Descriptive statistics and pictorial presentation is used to analyze data generated from time use survey and seasonal calendar.

3.8 Ethical considerations

As social science researches involve dealing with human entities such as emotions, sensitivity, consciousness, unpredictable behaviour, biases, morality, subjectivity, norms, and beliefs is vital both in protecting research participants as well as in the production of credible and trustworthy knowledge.

This research adheres to the ethical standard requirements as stipulated on the ethical clearance received from the Department of Development Studies Research Ethics Review Committee that is in compliance with the values and principles of research ethics expressed in the UNISA policy on research ethics.

In the effort to practically implement these ethical requirements, the researcher has considered ethical issues such as privacy, confidentiality, informed consent, unanticipated possible harm, sensitivity of culture, religion, politics, and power (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006, Allmark, Boote,

Chambers, Clarke, McDonnell, Thompson & Tod, 2009). In order to have access to the study area written consents have been received from the concerned authorities both at zone and district levels. Then all the participants of the research have been fully informed of the aim of the research and asked if they are willing to participate. The identities of participants who take part in the research were made anonymous after data had analyzed to keep the confidentiality of the participant. In semi-structured and in-depth interviews participants were approached individually in a convenient venue where they could express their concerns, feelings, and opinions freely. In focus group interviews, women participants were separated from the men in order to manage the influence of gender-related power differentials.

During interaction with the participants, the researcher has tried his best to avoid probing participants on sensitive issues such as political affiliation, conflict, social issues and personal life, and any other related issue that could affect the dignity of the participants as an individual or a group.

All the interviews were scheduled and conducted in the best times and spaces that suit the participants within a maximum of two hours recognizing that the research process shouldn't affect excessively the time, space and daily life of the participants.

Being a researcher using qualitative research approach for the study, the auther couldn't distance him self from the research process as he has entirely engaged in the whole process of the research. The researcher does share with other researchers the idea that the researcher's subjective experiences and philosophical stance could inevitably influence knowledge production and interpretation. However, the important point of research ethics here is the capacity of the researcher to manage subjectivity in a way that personal biases are avoided (Sanjari, Bahramnezhad, Fomani, Shoghi, & Cheraghi 2014, O'Leary 2014). In capturing and interpreting data, the researcher has done maximum effort to do this from the participant's point of view by recognizing the influence of own biases and prejudices.

3.9 Conclusion

The research design and methodology developed in this study was based on the ontological[7] assumption of subjectivism.[8] Inquiry that requires the subjective engagement of dealing with social reality assumes that people's views and experiences are the keys to understand the social world and epistemological stance of the critical theory. Through engaging in different paradigm theories of social

[7] Ontology is "the philosophy of existence and the assumptions and beliefs that we hold about the nature of being and existence" (Cohen & Crabtree 2006:1)

[8] Subjectivism – a belief that reality is the outcome of social process (Neuman 2014)

sciences, a critical paradigm was selected to underpin the selection of research methodology and methods used in this study.

The researcher found critical paradigm theory relevant for this study as it aims at changing the lives of the society, setting people free from upheaval by challenging the existing social structures, and striving to establish a new and inclusive social system (Fui et al 2011, Bonner 2011, Feluga 2015). The study included critical analysis of development policies and practices related to the gender power relation in agricultural value chains.

This study generally employed qualitative research approach particularly the ethnographic research methodology that guides the selection of the main research methods used for the data collection. Here the study specifically employed basic classical ethnographic methods such as participant observations, recording field notes, informal and semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and secondary document analysis that were administered on selected individuals, primary cooperative organizations, grower association, and community. In addition to these, the study also used time use survey and seasonal calendar methods for the data collection.

Subsequent chapters will present the results of the study employing one or more of these methods. The next chapter will describe gender equality and the positions of women in Ethiopian development history in general and in agricultural development policies in particular.

CHAPTER 4

AGRICULTURE AND VALUE CHAIN DEVELOPMENT IN ETHIOPIA: AN ASSESSMENT OF GENDER PERSPECTIVES AND THE POSITIONS OF WOMEN

4.1 Introduction and background profile of Ethiopia

Ethiopia is located in the north-east part of the Horn of Africa and became a landlocked country in 1991 when Eritrea gained independence. It borders Eritrea in the North, Sudan in the West, Djibouti, and Somalia in the East, and Kenya in the South. Ethiopia has a total of 1.25 million square kilometers area of land that comprises central highland mass surrounded by lowlands, and this makes Ethiopia the seventh-largest country in Africa (Ahmed et al 2001:3).

According to the latest UN world population review, the Ethiopian population is estimated to be 104.3 million of which women make up 50.088% of the total population and Ethiopia is the second-most populous country in Africa after Nigeria with annual population growth rate of 2.5% (World Population Review 2019). Of the total population 80% are still living in rural areas.

Like many other African countries, Ethiopia has diverse cultural and ethnic groups that speak over 83 languages with about 200 dialects that can be categorized into four language families: Semitic, Cushitic, Omotic, and Nilo-Saharan (Ahmed et al 2001, FDRE 2017). The majority of people speak Cushitic or Semitic languages of which Afan Oromo, Amharic, and Tigrigna are the languages of Oromo, Amhara, and Tigreans people, who make up more than three-fourths of the total Ethiopian population (FDRE 2017). In this aspect, as Smith (2013:97) puts it, Ethiopia can be described as a country with a varied and contested history in relation to ethnicity and language, exhibiting Amharic ethno-linguistic dominance throughout the century with no dominance of European colonial languages contrary to the rest of Sub Saharan African. "Ethiopia is a deeply hierarchical and traditional society" (Smith 2013:9). This hierarchical authority and power is mainly controlled by men from elites of specific ethnic communities (Smith 2013:9).

4.2 Describing Ethiopian agriculture and development

The available few scholarly works on the history of Ethiopian agricultural development indicate that the inception of the plough and growing barley and wheat may date back several centuries ago probably even before the episode of South Arabian influence (Ehret 1979:161). Cultivation of indigenous crop such as teff and enset (commonly grown indigenous food in south-west part of the country) believed to be started much earlier than the time at which the growing of wheat and barley were begun. In addition to this, raising livestock was also considered to be an ancient way of food production in Ethiopia and the Horn (Ehret 1979:172). The livelihoods of most people in Ethiopia depend on agriculture, where there are about 12 million smallholder farming households of which 25% have a female-headed household (FAO 2014:11).

Ethiopia has two crop production seasons called Meher and Belg seasons. Meher, also called main production season when 90 – 95% of the total annual food production is produced, runs from June to September during a long rainy season which provides ideal moisture for growing most crops, while Belg also called short production season runs from February to May with small amount of rain that helps to grow often quick maturing crops in some parts of the country (CAS 2018:5).

Based on the agro-ecological situation, Ethiopian agriculture is divided into two farming systems: mixed farming in the highland, and agro-pastoral and pastoral farming system in the low land areas of the country (Yimam 2103:11).

Most agricultural production takes place in the highland areas above 1500 m, that constitutes about 30-40% of the total land area of country where the productivity of the land is high (Chamberlin & Schmidt 2010:10). Evidence shows that the oxen plough has been in use for several centuries (Afrin 2003, Alesina et al 2012). Traditionally, the highland areas of Ethiopia divided into *Woynadega* (mid altitude) refers to areas with an altitude between 1500m to 2300m above sea level and *Dega* (high altitude) refers to highland area with altitude above 2300m. Areas below 1500m are lowlands also known as *Kolla* (Mohajan 2013:66). Altogether, Ethiopian highland areas are mostly endowed with fertile soil, moderate temperature, and adequate rainfall conducive for living, as a result it is densely populated area than the low land areas (Afrin 2003, Mohajan 2013).

Throughout the history of Ethiopia, the highland area has experienced relatively better development that supports population expansion due its favorable physical nature. Adequate rain fall and a wider plateau supports the development of agriculture, the development of cultural innovation of the oxen-plough in the highland, and the development of a kinship-based land-tenure system in the highland provides long-term security and general tenure stability (Josephson, Ricker-Gilbert, & Florax

2014:143). It is in this highland area where major staple foods such as cereals like teff, wheat, maize, sorghum, and barley (which account for three-fourth of the total cultivated areas and 29% of the total outputs) and enset are grown in different parts of the country's farming systemdepending on variation in altitude, rainfall amount and market access. Pulses and oil crops are the second and third most produced crops after cereals in mentioned order (Dorosh & Rashid 2013, Aguiler et al 2015).

Coffee takes the first position as a source of cash and exports, making nearly 4% of GDP contribution and holding only 2.7% of the total area cultivated (Aguiler et al 2015:2). Oil crops (niger, seasame, sunflower, and groundnuts) take the second position in Ethiopian agricultural export earnings. Other sources of agricultural export earnings includes pulse crops (white pea beans, chickpeas, peas, mug peas lentils and beans), hides and skins, *chat* (mild narcotic), vegetable and fruits, and livestock (cattle, sheep, goats and camels) as well as their meat (Josephson et al 2014).

On the other hand, livestock mainly cattle, sheep and goats are raised both in the highland area of mixed farming system and in the drought-prone lowland and pastoralist areas, accounting for 21 % of total agricultural output (Josephson et al 2014, Dorosh & Rashid 2013). In Ethiopia, livestock production is source of food for the household, draught power, and wealth or asset for investment (USAID 2015).

The lowland area of Ethiopia (area blow 1500m above sea level) accounts for 60% of the total land area of the country (Afrin 2003:5). Unfavorable natural conditions such as low amount of rainfall and variability, and the prevalence of diseases mostly malaria, have discouraged the development of technological innovations and expansion of population, as a result in most lowland areas agricultural development has not been well progressed beyond hoeing and small-scale cultivation (Josephson et al 2014:143). In lowland area, due to recurrent drought, the lack of water and grazing has made poverty and food insecurity more severe for nomadic pastoralists whose lives highly depend on raising cattle and often live in tribal-based groups with limited access to education, health services, and political participation and hence less empowered (Fraktin 2014:95).

The modern time agricultural development in Ethiopia as it was summarized by the work of Alemu, Oosthuizen, and van Schalkwyk (2002) can be divided into three phases of development along with the development policies implemented in the three successive Ethiopian governments.

From 1957-1974, the absolute monarchy had designed development policy in different phases. In the first phase of five years, emphasis was given to enhance foreign exchange earnings by improving the production of coffee. In the second phase, emphasis was placed on the expansion of commercial agriculture. In both phases, subsistence farming contributes the larger share of food production, yet

was neglected. It was only in the third development phase that peasantry subsistence agriculture received policy attention, following food shortage faced in 1960s. Different measures were taken: integrated rural development (IRD) project was introduced in dealing with the problem of peasantry in a comprehensive manner. In the early 1970s, a programme called Minimum Package Project (MPP) was launched to offer farmers minimum targeted services mainly fertilizer and credit. However, later in the 1970s, the programme was discontinued due to lack of donor funds.

From 1975-1992, a planned economy was implemented and the economy of the country was underperforming even more than compared to the period prior 1974. In line with its claim of Marxism, during this period, the Derg regime had implemented various measures toward agricultural sector. The development policy adopted during planned economy period was industrial-led strategy that imposed obligatory mechanisms on agriculture sector to provide raw materials and other resources to meet the development objective of manufacturing sector. Private commercial agriculture was either demolished or confiscated; instead, producer cooperatives and state farms were introduced and promoted (Afrin 2003:14). The expansion of state farms was continued from the late 1970s to early 1980s with the government ambition to meet food shortage in the urban areas. Despite it received large amount of government resources, state farms were inefficient and had minor contribution to food security. Producer cooperatives were also regarded as superior to small peasant farms and received more resources and attention from the government, but "were never attractive to farmers" (Afrin 2013:14).

State-regulated marketing and pricing policies were introduced which severely affected the income of peasant farmers. "This handcuffed production growth made the economy vulnerable to natural calamities as witnessed in the 1980s" (Alemu et al 2002:6). Marginalization of private peasant farmers who accounts for 90% of total agricultural outputs and total cultivated area, had made the country pay the price in a serious failing of overall economic performance.

After 1992, unlike the two prior successive development policies where the agriculture sector was largely overlooked, Agricultural Development-led Industrialization (ADLI) strategy recognizes the role of agriculture in development. This strategy "requires that much of the investable resources extracted from agriculture be reinvested in the agricultural sector itself to stimulate growth in agriculture" (Alemu et al 2002:20). The Government of Ethiopia has put in place different reforms regarding the agricultural sector. Most of the state farms were given back to local farmers, while few others were transferred to private commercial farms. Some state farms are still used by public agencies to produce certified seeds, coffee, cotton, and other high-value crops for export (Afrin 2013:25).

4.2.1 Post-1991 agricultural development policy reforms in Ethiopia

The importance of smallholder peasant agriculture which had been once neglected in Ethiopian development policy as well as in academics, has become vital development issues in recent years (Baye 2017:420). Institutional changes that support increased productivity of smallholder farmers were introduced (FDRE 2010). In 1995, a new agricultural extension programme called "Participatory Demonstration and Training Extension System (PADETES)" that targets smallholder farmers, was launched. PADETES programme was first operationalized on selected plots growing major cereal crops – maize, wheat, sorghum, and teff. Moreover, since 1997, other crops such as pulses, oilseeds, and vegetables were also included in the programme. Concurrently policy that support the development of small-scale irrigation was initiated (Alemu et al 2002:25).

As its agricultural development strategies, the government of Ethiopia has identified two priority areas: enhancing the capacity of the smallholder farmers to increase their productivity and expanding large-scale private commercial farms (FDRE 2016). In its ongoing development plan called Growth and Transformation Plan-II (GTP-II) 2015-2020, the Government of Ethiopia has planned for structural transformation in the economy to envisage increasing the share of manufacturing industry and export earnings in the GDP. In the transformation process, the promotion of agro-processing sector is expected to play major roles (FDRE 2016, USAID 2017).

In Ethiopia, both the past government: the Derg regime and the present government: the Ethiopian People Democratic Republic Front (EPDRF) regime has implemented resettlement schemes as part of their development programme of rural population which often involves redistribution of lands. In the 1980s, Derg regime launched massive resettlement schemes known as villagization programme in which people were forcibly moved from one place (often highland) and relocated in another place (often lowland) (Pankhurst 2009, Josephson et al 2014).

The successor of the Derg regime, the EPDRF reinitiated the resettlement scheme in rather voluntarily basis as a means to address problems of post-conflict refugees, internally displaced people, and displacement caused by expansion of development projects such as construction of dams, and commercialization of agriculture (Pankhurst 2009, Clapham 2010). The resettlement schemes brought social and economic chaos to resettlers due to the outbreak of diseases and shortage of food which took the lives of many people particularly women and children. Conflict also raised between resettles and host population due to cultural shocks and animosity from host population and competition for resources (Josephson et al 2014:143).

The agricultural sector relies heavily on smallholder production which uses low levels of technologies and often precarious rainfed agriculture highly dependent on nature, which is often the main cause of the frequent shortfall of the production volume country has experienced (CAS 2012). Despite the fact that about 64% of smallholder farming households operate on less than one hectares of farmlands, in Ethiopia smallholders produce more than 90% of the total agricultural output, and control 95% of the total cultivated land (CSA 2012, FAO 2014). Small farmers produce 98% of coffee, which is the main source of export earning commodity. Controlling about 5 percent of total cultivated land, the contribution of private commercial and state farms limited to under 6% of total food crop production and 2% of coffee production (Gebresilase 2010:10).

In Ethiopia, the right to access land is limited to use rights; people don't have ownership rights as land in Ethiopia has been considered state property since 1975. This was following the 1970s Ethiopian student revolutionary movement whose idea was eventually taken over by the Derg military junta that declared all private land was nationalized, and ownership was vested to the state (Abbink 2011:514). In 1995, the current ruling party of the government of Ethiopia, EPDRF, put system in a place that gave official land ownership right to the government, which left people with specific use right for those who want to use the land (Josephson et al 2014:143). The system does not allow land sell, but it allows use transfer in the form of inheritance. Despite the dictation of land policy remaining, in the authority of the Federal Government, following land legislation update of 1997, the Regional Governments were given the responsibility of land redistributions, reallocations, and implementation of related actions of their respective region (Gebeyehu 2013, cited in Josephson et al 2014).

In addition to production-related constraints, smallholder farmers suffer most from lack of access to rewarding market. Study shows that in Ethiopia agricultural marketing system is characterized by informal and unregulated market system which is constrained by weak market linkages, lack of proper institutions, absence of infrastructure and market outlet (Alemu et al 2011:15). Furthermore, absence of market incentives to producers have limited farmers' orientation to the market, their adoption and use of productive inputs and technologies, which in turn will have adverse effects on the level of production and productivity (Alemu et al 2011:15).

Evidence shows that rapid population growth in Ethiopia has brought several challenges to the development of agricultural sector in many ways:(i) the size of farm holding has become reduced and farming has become more fragmented; (ii) the shortage of farmland has pushed farmers to cultivate fragile land and previously protected pasture and forest lands; (iii) the shortage of grazing land has brought a decline in the number of animal herds raised by farmers;(iv) productivity of land has

declined due to over-exploitation of ecosystem and recurrent drought, as a result, food insecurity has been the major problem in Ethiopia for many years (Afrin 2003, Teshome 2014). Reduction in farm size because of the population pressure is one of the main causes for rural - urban migration to look for employment (Dorosh & Rashid 2013).

In Ethiopia, the rainfed based agricultural system, in the face of the degradation of the natural resources, recurrent drought and climate change, hardly curbs the incidence of poverty and food insecurity (Awulachew, Yilma, Loulseged, Loiskandl, Ayana & Alamirew 2007:1). Ethiopia has an estimated 3.5 million hectares of land potentially suitable for irrigation; however, only 5% of the potential irrigable land is used for irrigation (Awlachew et al , Worklul 2015). Besides, Ethiopia is known as "the Water Tower of Africa" for its endowment of more than ten major big rivers which are potentially usable for irrigation (Gebresilase 2010:11). The construction of hydroelectric dams on major rivers: Omo, Tekeze, Awash, Wabe-Shebele, and the ongoing Blue Nile Renaissance Dam is expected to accelerate the development of Ethiopian irrigation agriculture particularly in the vast areas of lowland (Fraktin 2014:96).

Generally the developments of Ethiopian agriculture is constrained by underutilization of available resources such as land and water resources, use of unimproved farming techniques of wooden oxen plough and hand use sickles, limited adoption of improved technologies and innovations, limited access to productive inputs and other services, unstable often low price for agricultural produces, uncoordinated market, degradation of natural resources, recurrent drought, lack of clear land tenure and related supporting policies, political instability and social unrest (Gebresilase 2010, Josephson et al 2014).

4.2.2 The current status of Ethiopian economic growth

The economy of Ethiopia highly depends on agriculture which contributes to 46% of GDP, 80% of employment, 90% of export earnings and 70 % of sources of raw materials for the other sectors (Aguiler et al 2014, UNDP 2015). The government official report indicates that the share of agriculture to the GDP has declined to 39% mainly due to the rise of the contributions of industrial and service sectors that followed the structural shift from agriculture to industry and services sectors. The contribution of crop and livestock subsectors to the GDP is 27.4% and 7.9% respectively while forestry and fishing accounted for the remaining 3.7% of GDP (CSA 2016).

In the last decade, Ethiopia has been described as one of the fastest-growing economies in Sub Sahara Africa region, though some argue that recent economic growth is the indication of the depth lower economic performance of the prior decades (Rodrik 2016:13). It is reported that this economic

growth has contributed to reducing poverty significantly. For instance, in 2000, 53% of Ethiopian population was lived in extreme poverty, by 2011 this figure dropped to 33.5% (World Bank, 2018). However, Ethiopia is still one of the poorest countries with per capita income of $783 (World Bank 2018). In human development index Ethiopia takes 174th out of 188 countries since 2015. From 2005 to 2016 Ethiopia economy was grown by an average of 10.3%, but in 2017 the growth rate dropped to 8.5% (World Bank 2018, IMF 2018).

Many economic scholars are suspicious about whether the current economic growth is going to be sustainable, in the absence of profound structural change that favours manufacturing-based tradable items (Rodrik 2016, IMF 2018, Shiferaw 2017). Currently the contribution of manufacturing sector to the total output, export earnings and job creations is only about 5% (World Bank 2016:4). Added to this, the jobs creation and improving governance at all levels are the main development tasks need to be addressed to make the economic growth sustainable (World Bank 2018).

4.3. Gender equality and women's position in Ethiopia

It is hard to find scholarly works on women's studies in Ethiopia. Ethiopian society in general and the status of women in Ethiopian society in particular, has been out of reach in international research (Burgess 2013:97). The politics of identity including women's identity has received social scientists' attentions in Ethiopia very recently (Fernyhough & Fernyhough 2002:188). The identity of women in Ethiopia has always been based on prescribed reproductive gender roles they play in the family as mothers and home-makers, despite them playing and continuing to play various roles in public and political spheres (Burgess 2013:98).

Unlike in many other countries where local women's organizations and activists' networks have contributed to promoting gender equality and women's right, in Ethiopia this has not been the case where women's organization and movements are described as weaker (Biseswar 2008:411). In Ethiopia, the women's movement first appeared in 1970s, but it was soon halted by the Military Derg regime (Ostebo 2015, Biseswar 2008).

4.3.1 Overview of history of notable women in Ethiopia

Throughout Ethiopia's history and legends, there have been influential women who played prominent roles as rulers, war leader, and advisers to warlords. The most prominent one as Tseday (2009) documented was Makeda, commonly known as 'Queen of Sheba' – the legendary female ruler of ancient Ethiopia, who according to the legend and Orthodox Church traditions, visited King

Solomon during the old testament and gave birth to a son called Minilik I. Additionally, Yodit (Gudit) rose as a queen around 10th century AD and was known as being rebellious against Christians and invaded the Axumite Christian Kingdom.

There were also other prominent women whose influences and contributions during and after their husbands' monarchical rules were recorded in the monographies of Ethiopian monarchical traditions (Mesqel-kibra, Eleni, Seblewongel, Delwonbera, Mintuwab and Tayitu) (Tseday 2009).

Among these, the most famous women in Ethiopian history were Empress Tayitu, the wife of Emperor Menelik (1889-1913), and served as close advisor of the emperor, diplomat, played a major role in the founding of Addis Ababa, and was known to be hostile to foreign powers (Bizuneh 2001, Tseday 2009). As much as they were privileged to play roles in administrative, diplomacy, and intrigue, women from the nobility class like Empress Tayitu enjoyed the formal right to land and control over it, though this did not apply to the majority of women in Ethiopia (Fernyhough & Fernyhough 2002:196). For instance, despite both noble and peasant women having equal legal rights of land inheritance claims, it was suggested that there has been a huge difference in the extent to which these rights are exercised in practice for the two groups.

It is important to note that in the Ethiopian tradition, there is a tendency to take past legends and historical events as pride without further examination of the authenticity of the events. As Biseswar (2008:405-406) puts it, in Ethiopia, historical events, including gender relations are "treated as a marker of identity and culture … accepted as untouchable, unquestionable and unalterable.Such perceptions can lead to abuse, exploitation, and distortion of the essence of historical events."

Reconstruction and analysis of social history of ordinary members of the societies in Africa in general and in Ethiopia in particular has received scholarly attention very recently, and therefore in Ethiopia, the issues of how gender relations functioned in various historical processes were under studied (Bizuneh 2001:7). A few available studies on the position of women in the society and gender relations mainly focused on the traditions and accounts of the society related to the ruling class (highland Orthodox Christian society); sadly, the situations of women of South and Oromia were missing.

Available historical records reveal that women in imperial Ethiopia's ruling families and nobility played important roles and were as influential as men. However, in the histography of Ethiopia, the status of women who belongs to the majority of ordinary population is largely missing. The available records and legends on the minority elite women, who appeared at one time or another in Ethiopian history as rulers or warriors don't represent the life of the most of peasantry women. This is because

Ethiopia has societies with diverse cultures, religion, and beliefs wider than the ruling families and nobilities that elite women belonged to (strict orthodox religion clergy) (Biseswar 2008). Like in many African countries, the trend of women's status in Ethiopia has changed with the introduction of major religions that have pushed women to the margins, despite evidence being unavailable on how, where, and when this happened (Biseswar 2008).

4.3.2 Position of women in agrarian society in Ethiopia

Except for the work of Helen Pankhurst 1992 on the role of Ethiopian women in development, no extensive work on women's general position in Ethiopia is available (Fernyhough & Fernyhough 2002:189). Most earlier works in the writing of women's history in Ethiopia relied heavily on oral sources (Bizuneh 2001:9).

In her extensive work, Pankhurst explored and described the status of women in relation to the agrarian economy, state policy, socio-cultural and religious practices, natural and man-made calamity (war and famine), and gender division of labour in the household (Pankhurst 1992). Pankhurst pointed out that that state policy and socialist modernizing value of the state had no significant effects on social change and changes in power structure, production and reproduction roles, household economy and rural livelihood, and the role of culture and religion on marriage patterns that marginalize women.

The identity of women in rural Ethiopia is shaped and upheld by the influences of "local system, household dynamics, traditions, folklore, religious and spirit beliefs" (Fernyhough & Fernyhough, 2002:190). Pankhurst suggested that, despite women taking subordinate positions, they were often valued by their reproductive ability and experienced hardship; Ethiopian women played vital roles and had active positions in all domains of life. However, the varied and important roles women play in Ethiopian society have not always been recognized, and moreover, the discriminatory political, economic, and social rules and regulations prevailing in Ethiopian successive ruling parties have affected the wellbeing of women (Ayferam 2015:2).

Helen Pankhurst's extensive work on rural non-elite women revealed that discrimination, ill-treatment, and subordination of women in the societies have been taken as normal, acceptable, and natural (Pankhurst 1992). Historically, In Ethiopia, women did not have access to patriarchal traditional education run by religious institutions. Consequently, the critical thinking and empowerment of women in all aspects were sanctioned systematically (Biseswar 2008).

Evidence showed that the position of women in agrarian Ethiopia more closely matched Asian male-dominated intensive plough of cereal production where more rigid gender roles are exhibited and women are marginalized and subordinated. The African model is one of hoe-based cultivation

where women predominantly engage in the growing of vegetables and roots and they have relatively significant economic power and social standing (Pankhurst 1992, Fernyhough & Fernyhough 2002). This means in plough-based agricultural systems like in Ethiopia where the oxen plough system is traditionally attached to masculinity, women usually take subordinate position in the system.

In agriculture, using a hoe to dig the ground and prepare soil is easier than using a plough, which requires more power and physical body strength to pull the plough and effectively control the draft animal that pulls the implement. Consequently, these requirements place women in an unfavorable position in plough agriculture as it is exhibited in highland areas of Ethiopia where men have the advantage in plough farming over women (Alesina et al 2012:2).

In a society where plough-based agriculture is predominant, division of labour and specialization of production is developed along gender lines as opposed to a society where a hoe-based shifting cultivation system is commonly practiced. In plough-based agricultural societies, the gender division of labour norms have assigned field activities outside the home to men, while household activities in the home are assigned to women (Alesina et al 2012:1). Evidence reveals that in Ethiopia, in addition to the general constraints they face in terms of accessing productive inputs and services, households headed by women face additional constraints that limit the benefits they can acquire from agriculture. Women farmers in plough-based societies are highly dependent on men's labour due to the conventional norms that prevent women from taking part in plough, sow, and harvest activities on their own (Aregu et al 2011). Therefore, for these activities they must either hire men or enter into a sharecropping agreement with male partners (Aregu et al 2011). Women's dependency on men for labour has implications on the cost of the production, controlling over the benefit of the production, and decisions to adopt new technologies and innovations.

However, it was suggested that generally, gender-based labour divisions in Ethiopia is not as such hierarchical and rigid as in most plough-based Asians and; women have better social and economic position in Ethiopian societies. This doesn't mean that women in Ethiopia have equal status with men, because Ethiopia in general term is patriarchal society, and women clearly take subordinate position in the society and there is little evidence that women including noble women had effectively challenged or changed "the hegemonic masculinity of imperial politics and society" (Fernyhough & Fernyhough, 2002:201).

The fact that in the highland areas of Ethiopia oxen plough, which is invariably known to be men's work, as the dominant feature of agriculture has made women dependent on men for labour even if they have equal right to access land. Women's need for men's labour has implications for

women in many ways: first parents prefer to grant land to their sons than to their daughters, fearing the transfer of land inheritance to in-law family, second in the absence of men's labour women more likely to give up their legitimate claims for land, third, women spend considerable amount of resources to hire men labour for ploughing and harvesting activities (Fernyhough & Fernyhough 2002:97).

It is important to note that in Ethiopia, the status and roles of women in the society vary across diverse cultures and religions. For instance, women in the non-Muslim Oromo society have relatively higher status, Afar and Anuwak have lower status, and women in Amhara societies have medium social status (Hirut 1996 cited in Fernyhough & Fernyhough, 2002). The status of women varies across different religions of the societies in different part of the country (Orthodox Church in the North and Central, Sunni Muslim in the East, South East and West, Protestant in the South) which have divergent views on gender equality (Kumar & Quisumbing 2015).

4.3.3 The Development of women-led organizations/associations/in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, women's associations emerged during the early 20th century with the foundation of the Ethiopian Women Welfare Association 1935 under the leadership and patronage of Empress Menen (the wife of Emperor Haile-Silase) with the membership drawn mainly from urban upper-class society. The aim of the association was to raise funds that support urban women's projects (Burgess 2013: 98). Prior to the 1974 Ethiopian revolution, there were some other women-led organizations such as the Ethiopian Armed Force Wives Association (provide supports for widows and children of soldiers who lost their lives), Young Women Christian Association, and the Ethiopian Female Students Association which later became a gender identity group that engaged in civil society activism and revolutionary struggle (Burgess 2013, Ayferem 2015).

After coming to power, the Derg regime abolished all the prior women's associations and established by proclamation women's organization called the Revolutionary Ethiopian Women Association in 1980, which mainly served as state machinery to collect taxes, control people, and consolidate power (Pankhurst 1992:15). Burgess (2013:100) suggested that the only benefits women gained from the Revolutionary Ethiopian Women's Association were becoming an agenda item in the constitution andhaving literacy campaigns facilitated through the association. However, it had little impact on transforming women's subordination.

Generally, I agree with Bizuneh (2001) so far the works on the roles of women and their positions in various social, political and economic processes of the country in Ethiopia are limited and fragmented, and therefore they don't provide critical accounts on how they played out in social transformation.

4.3.4 Assessments of post-1992 gender equality and women's positions in Ethiopia

Ethiopia is a deeply hierarchical and traditional society where the dominance and privilege of men over women is well accepted by the authority and power is created at the family and community levels (Smith 2013:39).

In Ethiopian society, there is a prevalence of unfair gender relations that can be reflected in many ways. For instance, as mentioned earlier, the latest available data of national estimate reveal that 25% of the female labour force is unemployed, while 11% of the male labour force is unemployed. Unemployment with basic education for females has reached about 30% while that of males remains 12%. Out of the total employed women, 52% are employed in vulnerable employment such as seasonal or casual labour and informal employment compare to 46% of employed males in vulnerable employment (World Bank 2017).

Ethiopian women own less property and assets than men (Beyene 2015:11). For instance, in rural areas, 78% of farmland is owned by men, while women's share of farmland ownership is 22% (World Bank 2014, World Bank 2015, CSA 2012). The unequal access to resources has contributed to 23.4 % of gender differential in agricultural productivity together with other related factors such as land manager characteristics, land attributes and unequal return to productive components. In this, the lower access to productive inputs of female-headed household has largely contributed to the differences in productivity (Aguiler et al 2014:1).

According to the World Bank, in 2013 Ethiopian women contributed 64% of day-to-day household domestic labour, while men contribute less than 35% of domestic labour. Based on gender division of labour women in Ethiopia are responsible for almost all the domestic activities which include processing crops (pounding and milling grain), preparing foods and beverages (making tella, teji, areke), fetching water, collecting firewood and dung, making dung cake, cleaning houses and animal barn, washing cloths and undertaking childcare activities. In addition to these tedious domestic tasks, depending on the availability of labour and wealth status of the households, women also participate in most agricultural activities from land preparation to harvesting, tending cattle and livestock, and engaging in petty trade (Fernyhough & Fernyhough 2002, Abebe 2016).

As we have already stated in the previous section of this chapter, in addition to their reproductive and community roles, rural women in Ethiopia play a significant role in crop and livestock production, with limited access to productive resources (land, capital, agricultural inputs, credit and extension services), despite their contribution in production not being well recognized and valued (Belay 2016:2). Therefore, this is in agreement with the earlier finding which stated that like

typical women in the Third World countries women in Ethiopia has a triple burden of work in child-rearing, maintaining the home and food production (Moser 1993:15, Ahmed et al 2001:1).

In most societies in Ethiopia, men are well recognized as breadwinner and head of family on which the responsibility to make all the decisions concerning family including issues that affect women's and girls' lives are conferred upon (Pankhurst 2009, Aredo 1995). However, as Belay (2016:3) suggested, it is important to note that the role of women in agriculture and livestock production can be varied from place to place as Ethiopia constitutes multi-ethnic and multi-cultural societies that have different gender roles in agriculture. For instance, studies reveal that ploughing of agricultural land is not the role of women in the Northern Shoa of Amhara Region and Maki Oromo of East Shoa of Oromia Region. Similarly in the Sidama zone of South Nation and Nationality, women are not allowed to use farm implements like ploughs, hoes, and sickles.

However, contrary to this general reality, women in the Awramba community in Southern Gonder of Amhara Region equally participate in agricultural production and they plough land with oxen while men also perform domestic activities (Helen 1992, Tadele 1994, Sintayehu 2011, Regasa 2009, cited in Bely 2016:2). A study by Aredo (1995) reveals that unlike in many Sub-Saharan African and Asian countries where gender division of labour is mainly determined by the opportunity cost of the labour in the market; in the context of the mixed farming system of Ethiopian agriculture, gender division of labour is mainly determined by cropping patterns, socio cultural norms, types of farmer's organization, and the type of farm technology in use. Likewise Aregu et al (2011:7) noted that in Ethiopia, gender-based division of tasks vary according to the type of enterprise, the farming system, the technology used and the wealth status of the household.

Generally in Ethiopia the contribution of women in agriculture remain high in all rural society though it is not well recognized. World Bank (1998) on Ethiopian women affairs reported that women are active participants in all walks of life in the social, political and economic activities of their community; however the discriminatory political and socio- cultural rules and regulations have failed to recognize their contributions and in many ways they barred women from having equal opportunity with men and consequently women are lagging behind men in all aspects of self-advancements.

As Asfaw et al (2013:2) noted gender roles can be seen both at the household level where the roles and responsibilities of men and women within the household can be assessed and between male and female-headed households. Despite of the fact that women are the major contributors to the agricultural workforce, either as family members or in their own right as female-headed households; constraints such as economic, cultural norms and practices continue to impede their contributions to

overcome household food insecurity and affects the commercialization of the agricultural sector (Aregu et al 2011:1).

Society framed gender based structured roles which is often accepted as norm has put women in a disadvantage position (Yimam 2013, Belay 2013). The socially constructed norms have created systemic denial of access to opportunities and resources against women and this would negatively affect their self-esteem and confidence which in turn restrain women from participation, competition and engagement in a formal paid employment (Belay 2016:5).

According to Beyene (2015), women in Ethiopia are responsible for caregiving and unpaid community activities and girls spend more time than boys in unpaid domestic workloads. As a result of this, they have less time than men to effectively attend their education, consult media or participate in leisure activities. Moreover, the limitations placed on women's time has resulted in preventing them from participating in wage employment, informed decision making and acquiring innovative knowledge. They are mostly engaged in vulnerable employment in the informal sector, and they are highly affected by unemployment more frequently than men. Furthermore, they are deliberately excluded from being employed in jobs traditionally associated with masculinity. Consequently as study conducted by UNFPA (2008:7) confirmed that in Ethiopia significant gender gap is observed in many ways that continue to put women in disadvantaged positions particularly in areas where women exhibited lower literacy rate, lower share in primary, secondary and above education attainments, lower proportion in paid work, extremely lower access to media and high incidence of marriage at younger age.

4.3.5 Post-1991 policy towards gender equality and women empowerment in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia advocating gender equality and women's empowerment has not been the result of feminist-inspired and activists' network organizations, it was rather an agenda promoted by the government, NGOs, donor organizations and international development organizations such as the World Bank (see also Ostebo 2016).

Like in many other developing countries, in Ethiopia the gender issue has become an important area of concern in the national development agenda (Ahmed et al 2001:4). The governments of Ethiopia have not had a clear policy on women's affairs until 1993 when a national women's policy was formulated for the first time. Its aim was to make women one of the targeted beneficiaries of government development programmes through identifying the roles that government should play and what women themselves must do on their own (World Bank 1998). In 1995, the Government of Ethiopia further renewed its commitment to women's policy along with its new constitution.

Following the above-mentioned policy formulation, in response to ill-treatment of women since the decade the Ethiopian government has tried to put in place enabling policy environment that recognizes the importance of empowering women in achieving country's development goals. The government has instituted various legal and policy reforms that contribute to gender equality including "constitutional prohibition of gender discrimination and the guarantee of equal rights to women, reforms to the penal code, affirmative action policies for women, the ratification of international women's rights treaties, and various civil sector reforms to create a favorable environment for women workers" (Beyene 2015:10).

In addition to the ratification of international conventions on women's rights, in its policy reformation on gender equality, Ethiopia has taken some positive and affirmative legal actions that foster the participation of women in education, employment, and equal access to resources and services, following the establishment of Women's Affairs Bureau in the Prime Minister's Office (World Bank 1998, Ahmed et al 2001).

The government introduced different policy initiatives to strengthen women's position in the agricultural sector. EPDRF passed two main gender-sensitive policy reforms that could contribute equal rights for spouses: the decree of the Revised Family Code in 2000 and the introduction of community-based land registration in 2003 (Kumar & Quisumbing 2015:407). The Revised Family Code has brought promising effects towards gender equality by offering equal rights to spouses in marriage relations and divorces, unlike many prior legal reforms that had failed to alter local traditions regarding patrimonial issues (Kumar & Quisumbing 2015:407).

The Government of Ethiopia included measures that ensure women's rights of access to land and other productive resources, and control other discriminatory actions such as working longer hours and domestic violence against women. About the same time, the Federal Rural Land Administration Proclamation was put into effect as one of the important decrees to ensure women's landholding rights. Land registration reform and awareness creation on land registration process has boosted tenure security among women (Kumar & Quisumbing 2015:407).

Biseswar (2011:20) argued that the formation of the Women's Affairs Bureau in the Prime Minster's office was instrumental and could be a means to consolidate the power of EPDRF party to control demands and avoid challenges. Under such full control of the government, the Women's Affairs Bureau could only play a small role in the emancipation of women. Added to the lack of real political commitments, persistent economic constraints and cultural norms and practices have also served to limit the emancipation of women.

The absence of free and genuine women movement (with some exception of the Ethiopian Women Lawyers' Association) and the influence of religious and cultural conservatism limited the development of feminism in Ethiopia that could seek justice for women (Biseswar 2008, 2011). Biseswar (2008:421) further argued that, in addition to the fear of sanctions from informal institutions, in Ethiopia, the government also works against women's involvement in such movements: women's activist and feminism, a phenomenon that has been growing in tremendous pace in the rest of Africa with unique African feminist experiences. Consequently, even educated women have no voice to challenge state-led women's affairs for the rights of women.

The establishment of a national women policy in 1993 underscored the need to institutionalize policy framework and strategy for women's empowerment within the government structure. A Women's affairs Office (WAO) was established within the Prime Minister Office as state-led women's machineries to ensure gender equality structures within the government with representative office of Women's affairs Bureaus (WABs) at the regional level, and Women's affairs Departments (WADs) at zonal levels and Women's affairs Divisions at district levels as well as Women's affairs Units (WAUs) at *kebele*/village levels (UN Women 2014:20). The plausible rationale for creating offices at different levels was to fit into the administrative hierarchical structure of the current EPDRF government of Ethiopia.

In 2005, following the proclamation 471/2005, the Ministry of Women's Affairs (MoWAs) was established and thus, the Women's Affairs Office (WAO) was raised to the Ministerial level and became member of council of Ministers with the mandate of coordinating and following up on the implementation of gender and women's policies. The Ministry of Women's affairs (MoWA) was given the responsibility of enhancing women's participation in politics, economic and social affairs through creating an enabling environment to do so. The MoWA contributed to gender equality and women's empowerment by developing and launching the National Action Plan for Gender Equality (NAP-GE) in 2006 and introducing a package called Women's Change Development Package in 2007 as the main strategy for empowering women (UN Women 2014:20).

In 2010 the MoWA was restructured and transformed with the proclamation of 691/2010 and became Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs (MoWCYA) with the broader mandate of addressing issues and problems facing women, children, and youth in a more holistic approach (World Bank 2016).

In its development plan called Growth and Transformation Plan I and II, the Government of Ethiopia takes gender as a cross-cutting issue that can be addressed through integrating gender issues

into policies, strategies, and programmes. The authority to implement this is given to the Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs and its regional state bureaus that could ensure gender issues are addressed at all levels from district to the federal (UNDP 2015:12).

Evidence shows that Ethiopia has made significant progress in female education attainment, though there is still an observable gender gap, particularly at the postsecondary school. The enrollment gap between male and female is attributed to a number of limiting factors such as socio-economic challenges, gender-based roles in the household that stereotypically assigns responsibility of household chores to girls which is often resulted in time poverty for female, gender-based violence on the way to school or in the school, and limited institutional supports and gender-sensitive works that could reduce the gap (UN Women 2014:11).

Table 4.1: Education enrollment by gender

School enrollment by education level	1998		2003		2010		2014		2017	
	male% gross	female % gross	male % gross	female % gross	male % gross	female % gross	male% gross	female % gross	male % gross	female % gross
Primary education	61	41	75	54	95	88	100	95	97	106
Secondary education	25	18	30	25	37	31	39	33	41	34
Tertiary education	6	0.2	8	0.3	10	3.7	11	5.2	13	7

Source: Data extracted from CSA, 2005 and World Bank 2018

The gender gap in the enrollment of education rises as we move up the level of education, though the gap has become significantly reduced in more recent years. Other prior studies also confirmed that the gender parity index (the ratio of female to male) in primary school enrollment has increased by 40 % between 1991 to 2014 (UNDP 2015:12).

Improvement in education attainments at all levels will inevitably contribute to enhance the socio-economic level and political power of women in the long run despite socio-cultural and institutional embedment hampering women's empowerment.

The political representation of women has increased in the last two decades. For instance, the percentage of seats held by women in the national parliament has significantly increased from 2.8% in 1995, 7.7% in 2000, 21% in 2005, 22% in 2010 and reached 27.8% in 2014 (UN Women 2014:11, UNDP 2015:12). The participation of women in leadership and decision-making process has

improved and a few women have held state ministerial and commissioner positions and generally the representation of women in executive body has risen from 13% in 2005 to 17% in 2014. The representation of women in the Judiciary has reached 30% (UN Women 2014:11). Therefore, the participation women in the politics and decision making have increased in the last four elections terms since 1995 (UN Women 2014:11). Improvement in women's education attainment might have contributed to the rise of the number of women's participation in the politics and decision-making activities.

In Ethiopia, gender and development policy mainly focuses on state-led interventions. Evidence shows that government-led gender and development interventions have failed to effectively address the problems of women due to different limitations:

1. The interventions are mostly ad hoc, self-standing projects that are ineffective in delivering benefits to women as they become gender blind;
2. The approach is top-down and not demand-driven, failing to recognize variations across regions;
3. A lack of institutional capacity at regional and local levels to implement planned activities has made women left out from benefiting from development interventions;
4. There is an absence of women-led organizations that advocate equal participation and rights for women;
5. There is a dependence on donor organizations or NGOs due to a lack of capital budget (UN Women 2014, World Bank 2016).

4.4. Description of the study area—Arsi Zone

Arsi zone is one of the Ethiopian provinces located in South- East of Ethiopia in the central part of Oromia National Regional State. Asella town is the capital of Arsi Zone located 175 km from Addis Ababa on the way from Adama to Bale-Robe main road.

Arsi Zone is has a favorable climate and soil suitable for growing varies crops and vegetables as well as rearing cattle. It has various agro-ecological zones depending on variations in altitude; however, it is dominantly characterized by moderately cool zone which consists of 40% and cool zone 34% of the total areas. It has an average annual temperature between 20-25^0 centigrade in the lowland areas and 10-15^0 centigrade in the highland areas (National Regional Government of Oromia 2011:5).

With a total population close to 3 million, Arsi has an overall sex-ratio of 99 males per 100 females. It has an average family size of five persons per household (OFED 2011). The Arsi zone is

inhabited mainly by Arsi Oromo community one of the subgroups of Oromo people, which are also the main occupants of Bale Zone. However, there are also several other Oromo tribes and non-Oromo communities living in Arsi Zone. Arsi Oromo speaks Afaan Oromoo language and share similar culture and traditions in both zones of Arsi and Bale. Arsi Oromo is known to be a polygamous society and polygamy is still practiced particularly by the Muslim society of Arsi Oromo (see also Deressa 2002). Marriage in Arsi society is strict and serious business and the dissolution of marriage or divorce is relatively uncommon in the Arsi tradition (Ugla, Gurmu, & Gibson 2018:161). Whenever there is disagreement between husband and wife, elders, close relatives, and families will interfere to settle the conflicts.

Though animal husbandry, mainly for cattle and sheep, is well known, in Arsi Oromo traditions, mixed farming has been the main source of economy for many years (Deressa 2002:25). The production of barley and wheat is most common in Arsi Oromo, barley is considered the holiest crop with ritual value in Arsi Oromo tradition.

4.4.1 Social institutions and women's position in Arsi Oromo

Arsi is one of the patriarchal societies where women take a subordinate position through its various socialization processes that determine gender roles and is known to hold unfavorable attitude toward girls than boys (Heregewoin & Emebet 2003, Hirut 2004). Polygamy is commonly practiced in Arsi particularly among the Muslim community. In Arsi, the socialization process is deep-rooted to the extent that it has made women think that they are less powerful than men and they have psychologically accepted the dominance of men over women in many aspects (Hirut 2004, Ostebo 2015). Despite having been suppressed by the influence of Islam and other religions, traditionally Arsi Oromo women had social organization called *saddettan hanfala* a kind of solidarity that provides protection for women against humiliation and mistreatment they face from men (Hussein 2004:112). Like in most of the Oromo areas, in Arsi Oromo, cultural norms and practices and other manifestations govern gendered cultures and stereotypes.

Arsi Oromo has a code of morals that is embedded in inherent traditional law called *wayyuu*-moral principles and codes that determine or regulate gender, age, marital status and kinships related behaviours (Ostebo 2015:452). The literal meaning of *wayyuu* is something to be sacred, something not to be touched, person or eternal power to be respected (woyyichaa). According to Arsi tradition the highest *wayyuu* is Waaqaa (God) (Ostebo 2015, 2016, 2018). Heaven and earth are also *wayyuu* (Hussein 2004). In Arsi women receive different status of *wayyuu.* For instance, mother-in-law is *wayyuu*, married woman is *wayyuu*, pregnant woman is *wayyuu*, woman with *qanafaa* is *wayyuu – qanafaa*

is a sign that woman put on her forehead to indicate that she has delivered baby in the last 4 to 5 months (Ostebo 2009, Hussein 2004).

Thus, according to Arsi tradition women are generally considered to be *wayyuu*- someone that deserve respect from the society and protected by the tradition. Using their *wayyuu* status women in Arsi Oromo tradition play significant role in settling conflicts and building peace between individuals or group of societies or warring clans by just holding their ceremonial stick called *siinqee* and singing traditional song called *ateetee* in front of the conflicting group (Fiqru 2018, Hussein 2004).

4.4.2 Social institutions- *wayyuu, sinqe and ateete* intercede gender relations in Arsi

The term *wayyuu* also implies that there are informal unwritten laws and a code of principles that govern the behaviours of men and women in the tradition of Arsi people. These codes of principles exclude men from participating in some domestic activities that are considered to be exclusively women's affairs (Ostebo 2015:453). For instance, the work of Abera (2015:99) revealed that, the involvement of men /fathers/ in childrearing activities in Arsi is very low in childcare activities and physical interactions with children. This is because the role of fathering is perceived to be limited to bread- winning, protecting, and representing family in public places. In Arsi Oromo traditions, most of the household decisions including decision on resource allocation and use are made by men and in contrast, the roles of women are confined to reproduction and domestic affairs (Hebo & Shigeta 2014). According to the traditions of Arsi Oromo men and female should comply with the gender division of roles. Thus, the interference of men in those tasks identified as women's roles is perceived as violation of cultural norms and abuse of a societal moral value called *sefu* (Abera 2015:97). Hebo and Shigeta (2014:20) identified that in the tradition of Arsi Oromo women have special place in the house where they keep items such as butter and other important household stuffs and men's access to this place is highly restricted.

Being *wayyuu* is a traditional Arsi Oromo worldview with traditional beliefs/religious/ connections, in addition to its role to regulate sexually accepted behaviour, it has also a role in defining women's position and their rights as well as in protecting women from sexual and physical abuses in the society (Ostebo 2009, Hussein 2004).

Related to *wayyuu* code of principles, women in Arsi use some symbolic materials such as maternity belt (*hanfalaa laafaa*), a scarf made either from cotton or leather worn by women around their hips, *qanafaa* a symbolic adornment used by post-partum women mostly around their forehead, and *Sinqe*e stick that is given to women on their wedding day to signify their rights and respects are some

of the institutions that serve women to secure power, respect, and protection from violence to some extents (Ostebo 2015, 2016). Arsi women have also cultural musical institutions called *atetee* – which is performed by married women as a means of empowering and protecting their unbeatable rights and interests as well as safeguarding the violations of their communal values (Fiqru 2018).

However, as the cultural and traditional system has become weaker due to the influence of Islam and Christian religions expansion, that became the means to check or control the behaviour of women. Prior to the expansion of Islam and Christianity, Arsi Oromo was the followers of traditional Oromo religion called *Waaqeffannaa,* a belief in *Waaqaa* (Supreme God) (Hussein 2004:104).

In Arsi, the effect of religion particularly the teaching of Islam (dominating religion of Arsi Oromo) has contributed to the existing gender division of roles and women's subordination. Abera (2015) reported that, according to Koranic teaching of sharia law, women are responsible for household domestic activities such as feeding, nurturing and caring for children while generating income for the household is the responsibility of men. Moreover, on one hand the adoption of Islam by Arsi Oromo has reinforced and confirmed some traditional practices such as polygamy, which is also common practice in Islam.

On the other hand, the expansion of Christianity and Islam has suppressed traditional Arsi Oromo women's practices which offer women some respect from the society, such as:

- *Ateete* (a ceremonial musical institution) that serves to promote and claim rights, and dispute resolution (Qashu 20119:247). Ateete ceremony could also be undertaken collectively by women on behalf of the community whenever there is natural calamity such as drought to intercede and persistently pray to Waaqaa (God) until the situation is reversed (Fiqru 2018, Hussein 2004).
- Si*nqee* (decorated stick carried by married women) with ritual values for women, for instance women individually or collectively grab and raise their *sinqee* to curse the violation of *wayyuu* (something sacred or untouched) and defend their rights (Ostebo 2015, Deressa 2002) sacred
- *Qanafaa* (wooden curved worn by women during the first 4 to 6 months after delivery as a sign to offer them respect) and other traditions that gives some respects and better status for women (see also Deressa 2002 and Firqru 2018).

Deressa (2002:35) reported that there is gender bias in wearing *qanafaa*. For instance, if a woman delivers a male infant, she is expected to wear *qanafaa* for six months, but in case of a baby girl, a woman wears *qanafaa* for only four months. The implication here is that though in Arsi tradition all

women often receive societal respects during their maternity period, the differences of the period of wearing qanafa is more related to the relative values the society gives to boys versus girls.

I strongly agree with Qashu (2019) that despite socialization of gendered roles, women in Arsi Oromo tradition are not entirely powerless and subservient. They have strong agencies and continue to exercise their agencies to overcome the dominance of men and violation of their rights through either social institutions or legal frameworks. Generally speaking women in Arsi Oromo tradition have better social position, because there are social institutions that provide women some social status and respects as well as protection against violations of their rights. For instance, when a woman is violently attacked by a man, other women in the community will rise against the act through their social institution called *ateetee*[9]. Women play significant roles in reconciliation of conflict between different group or clans through performing *ateetee*. In performing *ateetee,* women hold *siinqee* (decorated stick) and making sound of (*elelele*). For instance they do this whenever there is conflicts between the two parties by intervening between the conflicting parties and the conflicting parties are culturally required to stop fighting because women are seen as *woyyuu,* highly respected (Fiqru 2018:1-2).

We have seen that women in Arsi are regarded as *wayyuu* (sacred, untouched, and respected) (see also, Deressa 2002, Fiqru 2018).

The religious expansion has negatively affected the rich Arsi Oromo culture, which has significant social, economic and institutional values to the society. In the last 30 years the expansion of Wehabiyi form of Islam religion brought by religious scholars educated in Saudi Arabia has aggressively attacked and suppressed the Arsi Oromo cultural institutions and altered cultural norms and practices such as ateetee, burial ceremony, wedding ceremony and other ritual activities. One can easily observed how the dressing style of women in Arsi has been changing over a period of time and the gathering of women in public sphere for different cultural ceremonial activities has become uncommon. For instance, that in Oromia where the majority of the people are Muslim like in Arsi and Bale, it has become well common practice for married and unmarried women to wear a black dress that covers their entire body (see also Hussein 2004).

The neighboring Shewa Oromo who have long accepted Christianity, practice their religion by amalgamating with their indigenous cultural creeds. Like in many other African countries Oromo society have practiced their culture mixing with Islamic elements (Baxter 1994 and Liwes 1980 cited in Hussein 2004). Researchers like Fiqru (2018) suggested that Islam has been harmoniously been

[9] "Ateetee is indigeneous Arsi Oromo wome's sung of expressive form that enable women to settle disputes and resist operations and abuses" (Qashu 2016:4)

practiced and tolerant towards Arsi Oromo cultures. But I strongly argue that this could only be true for old forms of Islam. It has been observed that, for Arsi people who adopted the stringent type of Islam religion called 'Wehabiyi', such an amalgamation of a traditional creed with religious practices is no longer tolerable in the current reformists teaching of Islam. Consequently most social institutions that give women some protections, respects and recongnition such as atetee, sinqee, qananfa are currently hardly practiced in most areas of Arsi.

4.4.3 The societal attitudes of gender construction in Arsi

In Arsi Oromo there is high preference to have a baby boy than a baby girl, and particularly, woman who gives birth to a boy in her first-born child is highly valued (Deressa 2002). Many reasons can be mentioned for the preference of a male child over a female child. First, a boy is considered a pride to his family as wells to his lineage as he remains in the lineage of his father and inherit and control the properties of his family while a girl will leave family and marry to a man from another lineage and hence girls are perceived to be properties of others. Second, a male child is perceived to be more important to the family than a female child in terms of their future labour contributions and the power to protect family and their lineage (*gosaa*) from attackers (see also Deressa 2002).

A prior study conducted on the Arsi revealed that parents preferred to invest in their sons (often expressed in education and transfer of properties) over daughters with the expectation of higher returns from their sons (Ugla, Gurmu and Gibson 2018:161). In the intergenerational transfer of properties daughters often receive small portion from their parents usually in the form items for household use, while sons receive assets such as land and cattle.

According to Hussein (2004:108) in Arsi tradition gendered based treatments begins at childbirth, for instance when a new baby is born, women "declare the sex of baby usually by ululating five times for the baby boy and four times for the baby girl." In raising children family makes culturally guided efforts to psychologically orient girls towards domestic sphere and boys towards public domains of muscular roles and detach themselves from manifesting feminine behaviour (Hirut 2012 cited in Abera 2015:84). Stereotypical gender construction of femininity and masculinity inculcated through the process of socialization that resulted in cognitive self-identification for boys and girls (Hussein 2004:108).

The manhood of men in Arsi is measured by the roles they play in performing masculine activities such as farming activities, construction of house and building of animal shed, building and maintaining of fences, preparing feed for cattle, grazing cattle, representing family in public gathering

and participating in conflict and dispute resolutions in their community. Even in urban areas, Arsi men distance themselves from performing domestic activities such as cooking, cleaning, and child-rearing, therefore in the Arsi tradition, all the household domestic chores are the responsibility of women, even if women are engaged in income-generating activities outside the home (see also Abebe 2015).

The patriarchal nature of social structure in Arsi society gives a man an explicit status of household head and a woman defacto controller of the domestic scene (Asmarom 1973 cited in Deressa 2002). Though gender roles are changing in Arsi society patriarchal social structure remains influential and "it is still reflected in gendered expressions and narratives of the language" (Qashu 2019:248) that place women in a subordinate position in many ways.

4.5 Gender and agriculture - a macro perspective in Ethiopia

Gender base value chain analysis is a methodology that describes the existing gender relations between men and women in a given particular environment or context, ranging from households, community, ethnic group or nation and systematically organizes and interpret information about the gender relations (Mutua, Njuki, & Waithanji 2014:1).

Despite women in Ethiopia being responsible for all domestic chores (Afrint 2003:36), in agriculture women play important roles as producers, farm owners, wage workers, family labourers and marketers (Abebe et al 2016:2). Female-headed households which constitute 25% of the total rural households are responsible for managing their farms while undertaking all the domestic tasks in the household (Afrint 2003, FAO 2011). Due to time poverty and others social, economic and institutional related constraints, on average female-headed households manage small farm plots, use less inputs particularly non-labour inputs, have less time to spend on agricultural activities, are less likely expand their farmlands by renting more farm fields, have less access to inputs and services such as extension advisory services and obtain less yield and income (Agulier et al 2015:323).

The economic and political discrimination against women "not only expose them to material deprivation, it also makes it more difficult for them to fulfill their vital roles in food production, preparation, processing, distribution, and marketing activities" (Asian Development Bank 2013: ix)

In Ethiopia the roles of women in livestock production and value chains of livestock products such as milk and dairy are huge, being the livestock sector is an asset that could be easily owned and controlled by women as there is limited legal property issues (land tenure) is attached to this sector and traditionally women are responsible for most of the activities in the livestock sector (USAID 2013:11).

In Ethiopia women tend to work longer hours up to 15 -18 hours a day as they participate in outdoor farming activities and livestock tending as well as massive domestic care activities and consequently, they have less time to participate in training and skill development opportunities (see also Ahmed et al 2001, Afrint 2003). Aredo (1995:4) suggested that the domestic household maintenance activities take a major portion of Ethiopian women's labour time despite it is ignored to be counted in statistics, thus the need to participate in agricultural production is constrained by the great deal of time requirements for household domestic maintenances. The time women spend in agriculture varies by the type of crop produced, seasonal activities related to cropping cycles, age and the culture of the society (Belay 2016:4-5). Unlike in other Sub Saharan countries where women are considered primary cultivators of subsistence crop and men are producers of cash crop, in Ethiopia gender role is not crop specific; it is rather task specific, where women are mostly engaged in sequential of activities in crop production (Aredo 1995:27).

Fulfilling gender equality and women's empowerment in agriculture needs to be seen as an essential objective on its own right. Moreover, investing in gender equality and women's empowerment is essential for the benefit of the whole society in general (Asian Development Bank 2013:1).

Women's empowerment can be achieved through expanding social and economic opportunities for women by: improving their access to education, enhancing women's capacity to make decisions within the household and community, and increasing women's greater economic autonomy that improves their bargaining power within the household (Asian Development Bank 2013:1).

Rural women in Ethiopia are the main sources of workforce in agricultural sector either as member of household labour contributors or head of the household responsible for the entire farm operation (Aregu et al 2011:1).

In male-headed households, women play a significant roles in agricultural production and value chains they are almost neglected in the agricultural development interventions led by the government and non-government agencies, as they are not considered target beneficiaries or clients of the research and development programmes being they are not primary member of the farmer's association and thus, capacity building training and other skill development opportunities and related support services are given to men only (Abebe et al 2016:2). In addition to the burden of labour in household maintenance activities of preparing food, fetching water, collecting firewood and child care, women in male-headed household in Ethiopia participate in various agricultural activities from land

preparation to harvesting and storing, though their time-use in agriculture varies by the type of crop, cycle of production, economic status of the household, age and ethnic group (see also Belay 2016).

Women as head of household also suffer from inequality of opportunities and rights to access and control resources such as land and other productive inputs and supporting services and low level of education and the empowerment level (UNFPA 2008:8). Hence women in Ethiopia continue to face various economic constraints, institutional challenges, cultural norms and practices that limit mainly their contribution to household food security and to lesser extent the commercialization of agricultural sector (Aregu et al 2011, Belay 2016).

4.6 Gender and agricultural value chains analysis

The concept value chains emerged since the mid of 1990s as contemporary development policy intervention that aims to integrate poor people into the global market by designing the mechanisms on how firms and farms in developing countries get access to productive market (Bolwig, Ponte, du Toit, Riisgaard, & Halberg 2010:173). Value chain analysis is an assessment of all the processes, issues, and actors involved in adding value to the product in the different value adding stages of input supply, farming/planting/harvesting, processing, grading, packaging, storing, transporting, wholesaling and retail/ marketing/ (Morioka & Nicholas 2014:6).

Value chain analysis involves identifying of all actors who are directly involved in and/ or profiting from a value chain, assessing the activity profiles of the all the actors involved in the value chain (what men and women do in each node of the value chain) and their access and control profile (who has access to resources and power to control), and analyzing of the context in terms of social, economic and political as well as structural factors of culture and religion (Morioka & Nicholas 2014:6).

In Gemeda (2016), Habte, Legesse, Haji, and Jeleta (2016), Amentae, Hamo, Gebresenbet and Ljungberg (2017), Gebresilassie, Haile, and Kalkuhl (2017), all studies conducted on value chain analysis of cereal crops (wheat and barley) in Ethiopia, gender issues were missing. Most value chain analysis employed the narrow quantitative analytical approach that tells little about how women and men differently experience the value chain due to various structural factors (Andersson, Lodin, & Chiwona-Karltun 2016:87). Quantitative studies are just fine in providing important interrelated factors, but offer limited understanding on women's agricultural value chain experiences within the existing social structure.

Gender analysis in value chains entails the exploration and assessment of the difference between women's and men's needs, the roles that women and men play in value chain- who does what, the

varying level of power between women and men, constraints and challenges that face women and men, the opportunities available for women and men and how these differences affect the lives of women and men differently (Mulema 2013). I agree with Riisgaard, Fibla, and Ponte's (2010:4) suggestion that "women are more disadvantaged than men in the context of value chain operations."

4.6.1 Gendered based participation in high-value cereal crops- wheat

The participation and control of resources in the value chain between women and men varies from commodity to commodity as well as from one functional node to the other within the same commodity or crop (Andersson et al 2016:87). For instance, despite some variations among different locations and cultures, in the value chain of cereal commodities (wheat, barley, teff, pulse crops and oilseed crops), in Arsi men generally perform heavy tasks such as ploughing, selecting seeds, planting, harvesting, thrashing and winnowing, marketing of the outputs on large-scale and primarily control and decide on the income generated from these crops.

In cereal crops, women are responsible to perform routine activities that usually require follow-up and giving attention to detail such as land clearing, assisting during seeding, weeding, hoeing, processing, cleaning, storage and other related value-adding activities. Women perform activities related to their household responsibilities such as cleaning grains, preparing storage for the grain, storing grains, controlling storage pests and processing.

In Arsi, women have the role to sell a small portion of the grain outputs in order to fulfill the need to buy subsistence household daily consuming goods. In the study area, this study observed that the tasks women perform in cereal crop are primarily concentrated around functional node of production and to a lesser extent around processing and storing node of functions.

The participation of women in wheat marketing activities such as accessing market information, negotiating with traders or local collectors, taking their produce to the better market points are limited due to gendered norms. A similar study conducted in Tanzania indicated that in selling of cereal crops outputs women alone accounts for 14%, men alone for 70%, and together men and women account for the remaining 16% of the cereal crop sales (Fischer, Gramzow & Laizer 2017:322).

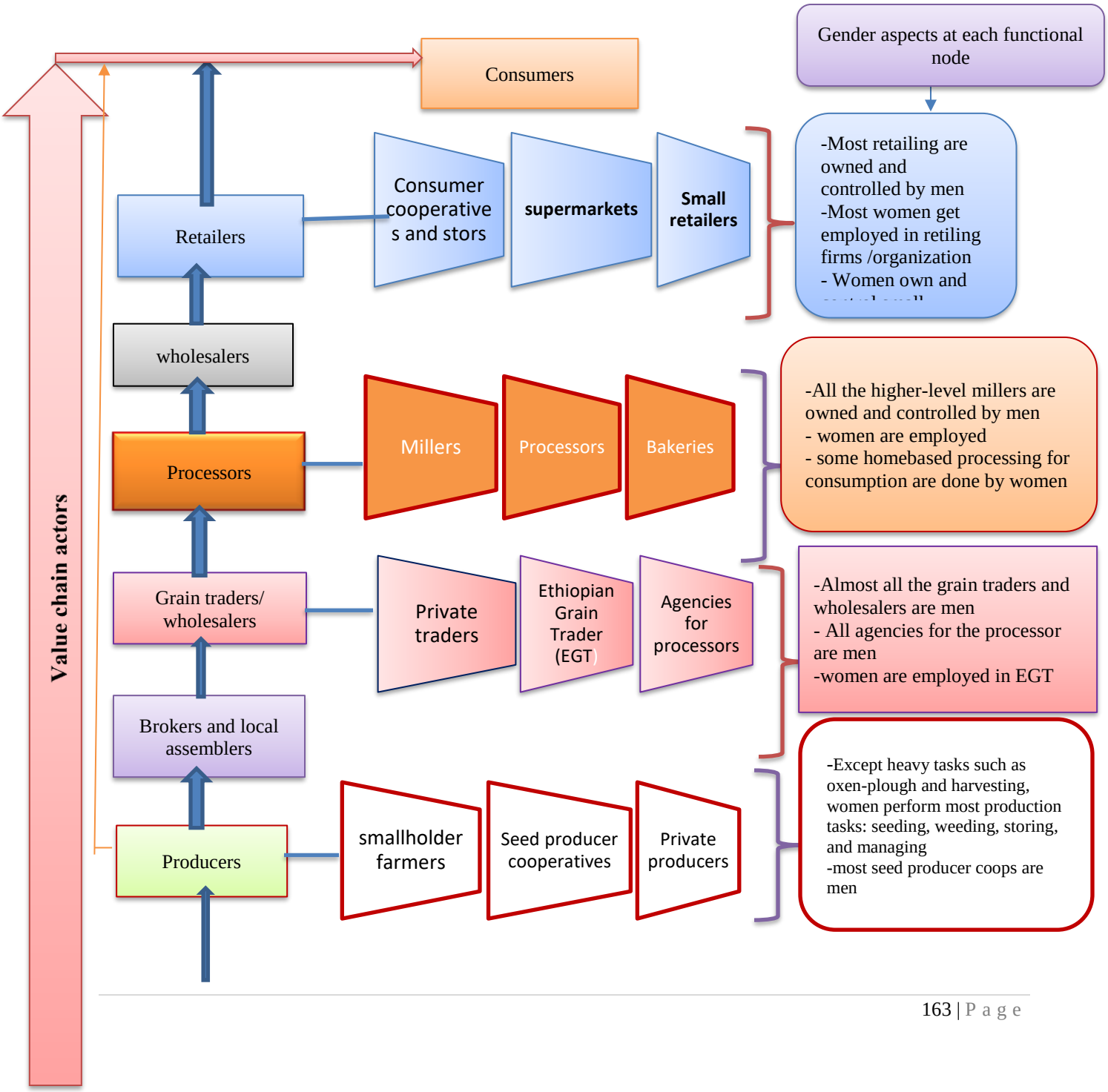
Arsi zone is one the main producers of wheat and barley crops with better research and development facilities operating in the area (National Regional Government of Oromia 2011). Evidence shows that despite the productivity of the wheat having improved in most wheat growing regions including Ethiopia as a result household income might be raised; women and men may not equally benefit from this due to the intra-household unequal gender relations arising from differentiated norms, labour rights, access to land, capital, knowledge and other supporting services

(Quisumbing, Roy, Njuki, Tanvin, & Waithanji 2013, CGIAR 2015). Like in most Ethiopian regions, in Arsi men control the income generated from the selling of cash crops including wheat (Dereje, Engida, Minten, Possentiand, & Tadesse 2016:).

An earlier study in Ethiopia suggested that men alone account for 50% of the decisions concerning cereal crop plot while women alone responsible for 3% of these decisions and the rest 47% of the decisions on the cereal crop plot are made jointly by men and women (Dereje et al 2016:6). The same study indicates that 47% of the male households have regular contacts with extension officer while less than 15% of the female households are regularly contacted by extension officers.

The participation of women in managing and controlling high-value crops such as wheat is constrained by unequal access to land, capital, productive inputs and capacity development services (knowledge and skill-based training), physical labour requirements of the tasks involved (oxen-plough), time poverty, requirement of considerable investment on equipment such as mechanization services and draft animals (oxen), and intra-household gender-based unequal power relations that affect the participation of women in value chains.

An earlier study suggested that in Oromia, women in male-headed households don't have land of their own; they only get access to land through their husband's tenure (Cole and Mitchel 2010:5). This also holds true for the Arsi zone where only those women who are registered as head of households can own land. As a result, the majority of women in male-headed households whose labour contributions in grain value chain is huge, are out of the realm of institutional membership that are targeted to receive capacity building trainings and other supporting services. However, it is important to note that increased access to resources and participation in capacity building training may contribute to increased women's mobility and their intra-household interactions, but it doesn't necessarily alter inequitable gender relations at household level due restrictive gender roles that prevent women from applying knowledge they gain from the training, and the use and control of the resources they have access to (Riisgaard et al 2010:7). Therefore for the women the quality of participation in value chain (decision-making power and control of benefits) matters.


Value chain actors
Consumers
Gender aspects at each functional node
Retailers
Consumer cooperatives and stors
supermarkets
Small retailers
-Most retailing are owned and controlled by men
-Most women get employed in retiling firms /organization
- Women own and
wholesalers
Processors
Millers
Processors
Bakeries
-All the higher-level millers are owned and controlled by men
- women are employed
- some homebased processing for consumption are done by women
Grain traders/ wholesalers
Private traders
Ethiopian Grain Trader (EGT)
Agencies for processors
-Almost all the grain traders and wholesalers are men
- All agencies for the processor are men
-women are employed in EGT
Brokers and local assemblers
Producers
smallholder farmers
Seed producer cooperatives
Private producers
-Except heavy tasks such as oxen-plough and harvesting, women perform most production tasks: seeding, weeding, storing, and managing
-most seed producer coops are men

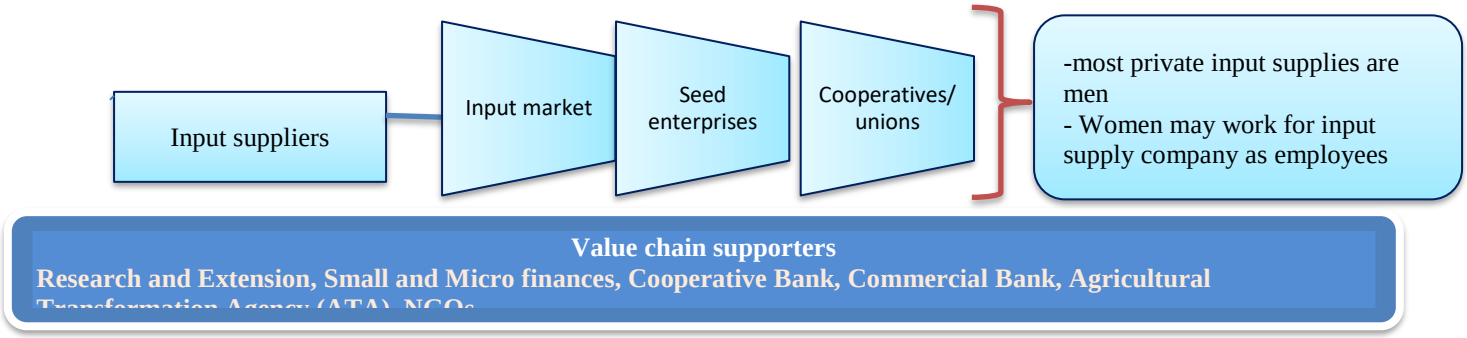


Figure 4.1: Wheat value chain and gender gap

Source: Author's own analysis

4.6.2 Gender and dairy value chain

In sustainable value chain development, gender dynamics cannot be overlooked. The efficacy of value chain is highly dependent on strong linkage and positive collaboration of all actors including women who play important roles in value chain though their roles are often uncounted (FAO 2016:3-4).

Dairy production is a source of nutrition and income for rural families and provides various livelihood opportunities for different actors participated as dairy producers, collectors, transporters, retailers and other value chain actors (Katothya 2017, Herego 2017). In developing countries, dairy business is run in small-scale at the family level, where all the members of the family (men, women and children) are engaged in various activities contributed to dairy production, processing and marketing (Gallina 2016:9). Dairy value chains involve input supply, milk production, milk collection, dairy processing, delivering and storing activities, marketing and distribution of dairy products.

Being one of the leading cattle producing countries of Africa, Ethiopia has 52 million cattle, of which 10.5 million are dairy cattle, which produce about 3.2 billion litres a year with estimated farm-evel annual values of 16 billion Ethiopian Birr (Herego 2017:8). Dairy sub-sector has untapped potentials for the development of Ethiopian economy and creation of on-farm jobs, however it is not well-developed despite of the long-term efforts made by the Government and other development agencies. Therefore, the dairy sub-sector is still uncommercialized, smallholder-based, operated as traditional milk production and processing system dominated by local breeds which accounts for 97% of the total production of milk and milk products (Herego 2017:8). Smallholder dairy supplies raw milk, traditionally processed dairy products such as butter, cottage cheese, skimmed milk, and agaut (leftover watery milk after cheese-making). However, the sale of this fresh milk and traditionally

processed dairy products are only important when they are close to urban consumers, milk collectors and milk marketing facilities (Beyene 2015:27).

In Arsi unlike cereal cash crops including wheat where income generated is mostly owned and controlled by men; traditionally most income generated in smallholders home-based processed dairy is largely owned and controlled by women.

However, in Arsi as traditional milk production and processing has transformed dairy value chains, the dairy business has become more profitable; the benefits obtained from improved dairy have become under the control of the heads of the households who are mostly men. This is in agreement with other empirical findings which suggested that when traditionally women-controlled commodities become commercialized, women loss the power to control over the income earned from them (Njuki et al 2011 cited in Quisumbing et al 2013:1). Women's participation in market-oriented commodities such as linking smallholder dairy producers to market is constrained by social norms prohibiting women's mobility outside the home (Quisumbing et al 2013:3). Such mobility restrictions prohibit women to participate in training, attend meeting, experience share and networking and accessing valuable information that would have positive effects on their empowerment level.

Most important decisions concerning the dairy farm marketing and income control are made by the head of the household often men. It is suggested that the lack of power to make decision affects not only women's productive potential, but also the quality of the contributions they can make in the functioning of value chain as well as in well-being of the households (Gallina 2016, Katothya 2017).

In today's dairy value chains in Arsi, most of the dairy activities are performed by women. Women are engaged in preparing feeds, feeding cows, watering, cleaning barns, milking a cow, sometimes delivering milks, processing milk and selling milk and milk products. Men assist women in bringing animal feeds, feeding cows, delivering milk to the processing point especially when the processing unit is located far away from home and performing other activities such as grazing cows, cutting grasses, and taking animals to veterinary service providers for health treatments and to animal breeding center for seeking artificial insemination services. In female-headed households, most of these activities often assigned to men are performed by women alone.

Evidence revealed that by participating in dairy production, rural women in Ethiopia receive income of their own and meet important social obligations (USAID 2013, Herego 2017). Generally, livestock-related assets are important for women, as women can own them easily than other assets notably related to land (Gallina 2016, Herego 2017). In Arsi Oromo traditions, during marriage women receive livestock/cattle as dowry from their parents as well as from their husband's family on which

they have better authority to use and control. Women have the absolute right to claim assets related to the dowries (wedding gifts) during the dissolution of marriage.

Unlike in many parts of Ethiopia, in the Arsi Zone, smallholder dairy farms are located in areas close to the main road where there is processing, and marketing facility operated by dairy farmer group or dairy cooperatives. As Katothya (2017:v) noted, though generally women play important roles in most activities of animal husbandry and dairy production, their engagement is highly concentrated at the production level of the value chain mostly in less paid activities.

Table 4.2 : Women and men participations in dairy value chain nodes

	Input supply		***production***		***processing and marketing***		***Total***	
	female	**male**	**female**	**male**	**female**	**male**	**female**	**Male**
number	127	561	460	636	20	41	407	1438
%	18	82	42	58	33	67	22	78

Source: adapted from Gerbremedhin et al 2016

Based on some generic division of labour and most dairy activities are performed at homestead, women engage in dairy production activities that require their involvements on daily basis such as feeding, watering, milking, processing milk, taking care of calves, maintaining hygiene, and follow-up on the health of cows and calves, while men often carryout periodic activities such as planting animal fodders, transporting and storing feeds, building animal sheds and taking animal to veterinary services (see also Katothya 2017).

In male-headed households, despite almost all the important dairy activities being performed by women, using their household head status, men mostly receive important support services such as agricultural extension, knowledge, and skill trainings, and have better access to information, technology and finances than women. Most development interventions target the head of the household because conventional development approach often "views household as unitary decision-making entity assuming that development interventions that target household head will trickle down to the other members of the household is the base for the exclusion of women in male-headed

households" (Gebremedhin et al 2016:1). This is also related with the fact that development interventions originate in the Western conventional view of the family as a nuclear family, with a man at the head of the household. Consequently, women have a low level of capabilities (knowledge, skills and experiences) and lack self-confidence due to socio-cultural norms that detect how individuals view themselves which in turn affects the participation of women in value chains and the benefits they receive (FAO 2016, Herego 2017).

As depicted in fig 4.2, dairy value chains in Ethiopia depend on the three main milk production systems namely large dairy farms, peri-urban dairy enterprises/cooperatives, urban small-scale farms (Yilma, Guernebleich, & Sebsibe 2011). In all three milk production systems women involved either as employees mostly in large- scale commercial dairy farms, as milk producer members of peri-urban dairy enterprises, or as households who produce milk on small-scale. The rest majorities of rural households in Ethiopia produce milk and milk products entirely for the household consumptions (USAID 2013:15)

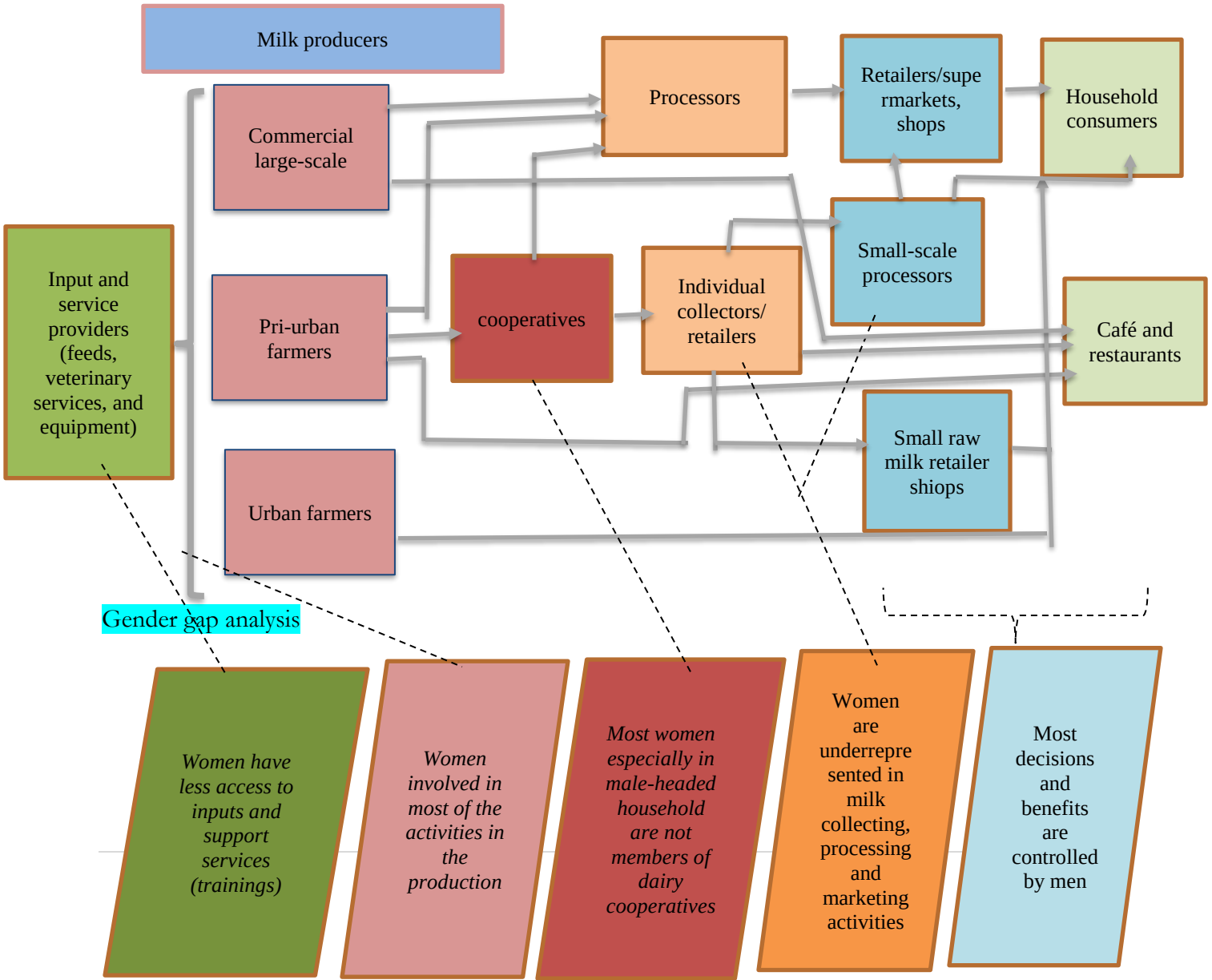


Figure 4.2: Overview of dairy value chains and gender gaps in Ethiopia

Source: Author analysis with value chain figure adapted from Herego 2017

Despite women make significant contributions at all levels of dairy value chains, the fact that they have limited access to and control over important dairy productive resources such as improved animal feeds, exotic breeds, veterinary services, dairy equipment, capital, knowledge, and information, restrain women's potential contributions to the production, processing, and marketing of dairy products.

The disproportional workload is observed at the production level of the value chain, where women shoulder most activities related to milk production such as feeding cows, watering, milking, cleaning sheds, taking care of calves, monitoring animal health, and maintaining hygiene.

Women are underrepresented in dairy cooperatives/enterprises in the Arsi Zone. On one hand, most poor households—of which women-headed households are the majority—are not members of dairy cooperatives. On the other hand, in male-headed households, women are not the active members of the cooperative society, meaning they don't have access to entrepreneurial skill development trainings, market information, and other support services. Even those who are members of dairy cooperative/enterprises often do not hold the management and leadership positions in value chain governance structure and therefore they have little voices to influence the decisions in favor of their gender needs.

Most milk collectors and transporters are men who deliver milk to small-scale processers and raw milk retailing shops, while most of the milk and milk product retailing activities are performed by women in pri-urban and urban areas. Women also perform local milk processing activities such as skimming, cottage cheese making, and packaging butter and cheese and marketing them.

The situation in Ethiopia in general and in the Arsi Zone in particular is similar with the empirical evidence which shows women are underrepresented in the areas of decision making related to dairy marketing and controlling over income (Quisumbing et al 2013).

In the context of the poor economy, lower socio-economic conditions, dominance of traditional norms, and weak institutional and legal frameworks, gender inequality is prevailing along the dairy

value chains. consequently, women are not well empowered in accessing important resources and support services and controlling of the benefits in the dairy sub-sector.

Literature reveals that closing the gender gap in accessing and controlling productive assets will boost the productivity of women as well as their self-esteem (Kumar & Quisumbing 2014). Addressing gender inequity in value chains is not only about meeting the human rights-based social justice perspectives of inclusion and poverty alleviation, it is also about creation of opportunities for women to enable them good business partners, producers, processors, and marketers which in turn make enterprises or businesses more profitable (KIT, Agri-proFocus 2012).

4.6.3 Gender and vegetable value chains

In Sub-Saharan countries, the production of high-value crops and marketable vegetables are frequently associated with male farmers, while the production of food crop for home consumption is often linked to female farmers (Fischer et al 2017:319). This is because smallholders in general and women farmers in particular, potentially face more challenges and high entry barriers than men in the production and marketing of marketable vegetable crops (Oduol, Mithofer, & Place 2014):1. For instance as market for vegetable exports has increased in Africa, the opportunity for men to participate in contractual farming has increased, while the chance for women to lose previously used resources for vegetable production for home consumption and local market has increased due to the problem of ownership insecurity over resources (Githinji, Konstantinidis, & Barenberg 2014, Wooten 2003 cited in Fischer et al 2017).

In Ethiopia, various types of vegetable crops are grown in different agro-ecological zones playing vital roles for family consumption and generating income for the households (Gizaw et al 2014, Gebreeyesus 2017).

The Government of Ethiopia has put efforts to promote exports of horticultural crops through commercialization of private large-scale farms and smallholder out-grower schemes and established separate agency called the Ethiopian Horticulture Development Agency (EHDA) in 2008, that provides institutional supports for the development of horticulture sector (Gebreeyesus 2017:15). However, smallholders still account for 95% of the total land cultivated for vegetable and 87% of the total vegetable produced, consequently the productivity and quality of the vegetable products are far below the international standards as mode of production in smallholder is traditional with no or little use of improved technologies including new agricultural inputs(Gebreeyesus 2017:15). It was reported that in Ethiopia farm level productivity of tomato is 33.4 and that of potato is 20.7 tons per hectares,

while the internationally attained productivity has reached 100 and 70 tons per hectares respectively (Gebreeyesus 2017).

The production, processing, and marketing of vegetables absorbs a large number of labourers nearly twice as much labour as that of cereal crop per hectares. These situations have created employment opportunities for the poor farmers, rural labourers, and urban poor (Munguzwe & Tschirley 2006, Gebreeyesus 2017). Besides, favorable weather conditions, the availability of abundant lands, and cheap labour gives Ethiopia significant comparative advantages for the development of horticultural sector (Gizaw et al 2014, Gebreyesus 2017).

Women in Ethiopia play important roles in vegetable and horticultural crops production particularly for home consumption (Dereje et al 2016) or sales at local markets (Gebreyesus 2017).

Similarly, in Arsi various vegetables such as onions, potatoes, cabbage, carrot, and red beet are produced for subsistence purposes but mainly only for sale at local markets. Most vegetables in Arsi are grown during rainy seasons; however, in some districts particularly selected for this study such as Tiyo and Lode Hetosa irrigation is widely used along the basin of Katar and Kelata rivers respectively. Vegetable growers in the study areas are organized in the form of cooperative society that manages input delivery, water use, and irrigation infrastructure. Onions and potatoes are the most commonly grown vegetables in the study areas. Growing potatoes has various benefits particularly for low-income households- it can be grown on small plot, it grows fast, it has more yields per unit area, and it contains more energy and protein, it plays a vital role in household food security and generating income from sales (Dersseh, Gebresilase, Rogier, Schulte, & Struik 2016:437). Onion is one of the most important ingredients in Ethiopia cuisine produced by smallholders and private commercial producers mainly for sales in local markets (Daniels and Fors 2015:6).

In most agribusiness value chains women play significant roles in the production and post-harvest processing nodes of value chain functions which are often key important functions that determine the quantity and quality of the final products, though these roles are often informal, unrecognized and poorly resourced. Conversely, women are underrepresented in more profitable parts of value chains such as transportation, marketing, and sales (International Finance Cooperation 2016:3). In vegetable value chains women in Arsi performs most of the production activities such as planting, transplanting, hoeing, weeding, watering, cutting, harvesting and other related field management activities as well as postharvest handlings such as sorting, packaging and storing activities. Men are mainly involved in land preparation, ploughing, planting, watering, harvesting, transporting, and marketing.

Women's involvements in value chains merely through labour contributions, do not necessarily make them the actual beneficiaries from the value chains unless they are participating in the decision-making regarding value chain operations and use of income generated from the production processes (Zakaria 2017:142).

Evidence from neighboring country Kenya reveals that in well-developed vegetable and fruit value chains, the involvement of women is limited to the production stage while men dominate the roles of the ownership of fields, managing and decision making of value chain operations and controlling of income generated (Oduol et al 2014). Similarly, women in Ethiopia in general and in Arsi in particular involved in vegetable value chains mainly in homestead production and processing activities on own controlled farms as heads of households or on family farms as unpaid family labour or on private farms as paid casual labourers. Other similar study reveals that in vegetable value chain women are disproportionately represented in seasonal or occasional activities that offer them insecure employment opportunities and often receive lower wages which in turn make them vulnerable to poverty (USAID 2009:12).

Like in other crop value chains, in the vegetable value chain, women face limited access to productive resources (land ownership, access to inputs and other support services such as training and extension services), limited business experiences in dealing with complex markets, time poverty that leads to trade-off between participating in value chain processes and household reproductive activities, and mobility restrictions imposed by gendered norms.

It has been observed that in the Arsi Zone, most poor women-headed households who own suitable land for growing vegetables sometimes found it difficult to participate in vegetables production due to lack of capital and shortage of labour. These households usually rent out their lands to other capable fellow farmers or private vegetable growers who usually come from the nearby towns. It has become lucrative business for government employees and people from urban areas to participate in vegetables production for market by renting lands from poor farmers who have no financial capacity to participate themselves. They usually produce marketable vegetables such as garlic and onions and occasionally produce potatoes when a good market price is forecasted.

Vegetable production for market often requires extensive labour for field managements, use of chemicals to control diseases and pests, good storage facilities and transportation services and efficient and timely market. Therefore, it is relatively capital-intensive investment and thus often unaffordable for resource-poor farmers particularly women.

Vegetable value chains involve direct actors such as input supplies, producers, collectors, brokers, wholesale traders and retailers as well as supporting actors that include research and extension service providers, NGOs and financial institutions (Teshome and Durr 2016). As indicated in the fig (4.3) below, vegetable value chain in Arsi Zone is highly gendered in which the role of women is concentrated in the production and post-harvest handlings activities that often add values to the products. Men are also involved in vegetable production activities such as land preparation, planting and harvesting, however they dominate areas of marketing (as collectors, brokers, wholesalers and retailers) and transportation where they can reap more benefits. Most private input supplies, private vegetable producers (contractors), decision makers in vegetable cooperatives, and irrigation committees are men.

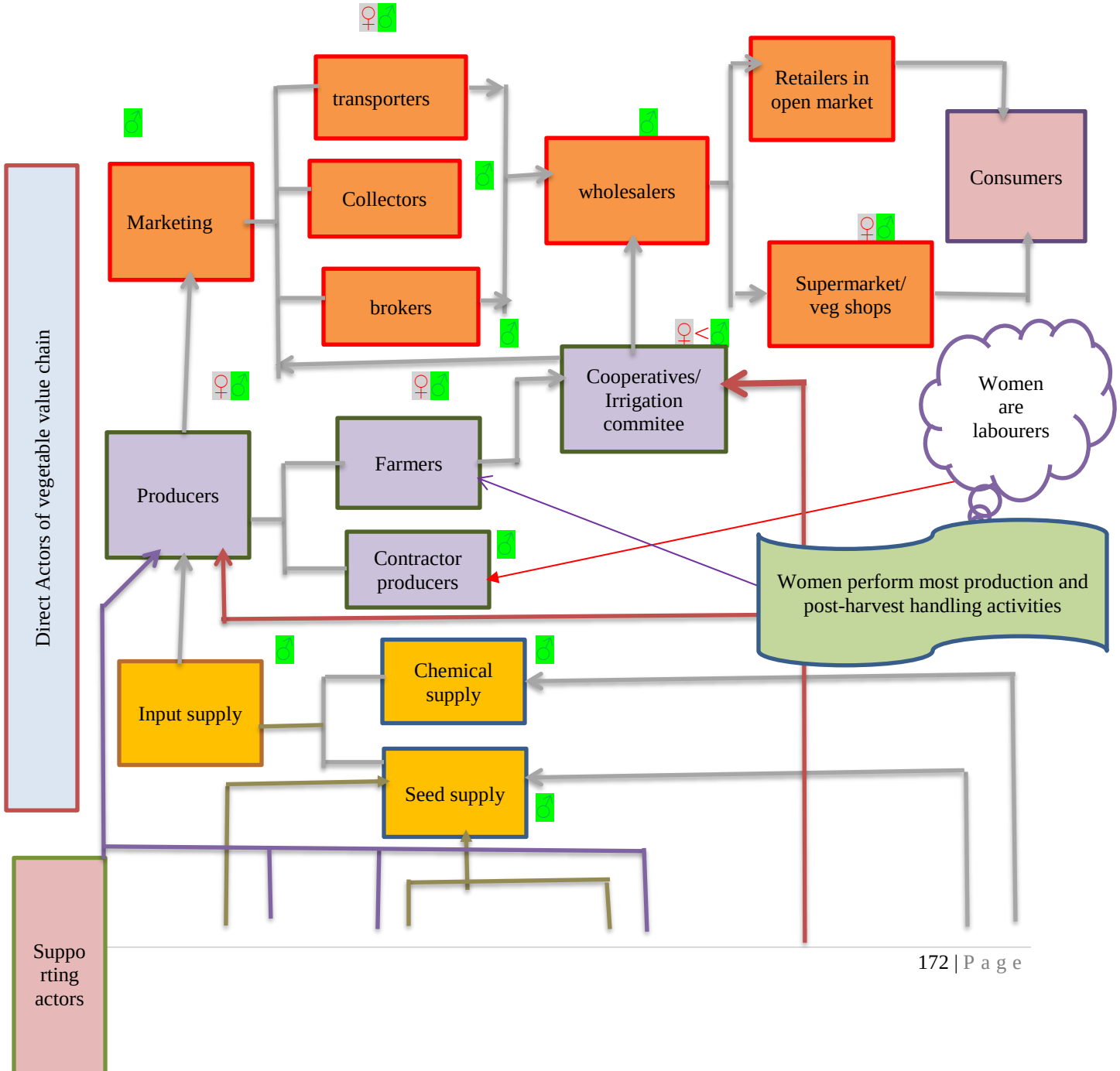


Figure 4.3: Mapping vegetable value chains and gender gaps (♂ = male dominated, ♀= male dominated) *Source: Author's analysis*

4.7 Assessment of the participation of men and women in cooperative organizations

The movement of cooperative organization in Ethiopia was started in the Imperial era of Haileselase in the late 1960s (Bernard, Taffesse, & Gabremedhin 2008:148). However, nation-wide cooperative organizations mainly producer cooperative organizations were launched during the Derg regime after 1975 land reform and formation of Peasant Associations (PAs). But after the military Derg regime was overthrown, these cooperative organizations were not able to survive because they were largely viewed as mechanisms of state control with no genuine interests from the participants (Afrint 2003, Baye 2017).

Post- 1991 the EPDRF Government which was well aware of the unpopularity of the state led-cooperative organizations, issued proclamation in 1995 to introduce member-led and purely service-oriented cooperative organization with the aims to reduce transaction cost and enhance the bargaining power of farmers. In 1998, a new proclamation that provide better policy framework for the establishment of cooperative organization was issued (Afrint 2003, Bernard et al 2008).

4.7.1 The participation of women in agricultural cooperative organizations

Cooperative organizations provide vital services to their members in providing the necessary productive inputs (seeds, fertilizer and pesticides) and marketing of outputs, offering agro-processing, transporting services and financing of agricultural input and output marketing, as well as promoting the social dialogue of the members by increasing their participation in value chain and protect them from unfair pricing of their outputs (Emana 2009, Tefera, Bijman, & Slingerland 2017).

The current structure of the cooperative organization in Ethiopia includes the Federal Cooperative Agency at the Federal level, Regional Cooperative Bureau at the Regional level, Zonal Cooperative Promotion Office at the zone/provincial level, and District Cooperative Promotion Office at the district/woreda level (Emana 2009:10). The cooperative promotion office in each zone and district provides technical support for organizing and managing cooperative organizations (Afrint 2003:33).

Although cooperative organizations may provide social, political, and economic functions in Ethiopia, particularly agricultural cooperative organizations are mainly focused on addressing problems of high transaction cost of inputs supply and marketing of outputs for smallholder farmers (Tefera et al 2017:432). Ethiopia has been using the promotion of marketing cooperative as a means to commercialize smallholder agriculture which represents the vast majority of farmers (Bernard et al 2008:148).

In many developing countries cooperative organization is used as institutional mechanisms for empowerment of socially and economically disadvantaged groups of the society (Emana 2009, Olawale 2012). Women's participation in cooperative organizations offers women economic empowerment: through better access to agricultural inputs, credit and loan services, and marketing of outputs. Women in cooperatives also develop social capital through a social network of mutual supports and solidarity and they achieve empowerment of self-esteem and self-reliance as well as the capacity to make the decision (Emma 2009, Olawale 2012). Cooperative could also provide employment opportunities for its members including women; it will also create assets for the members by providing loans that could lead to higher income for the participants (Olawale 2012:344)

Table 4.3: Data on member of primary agricultural cooperative organization selected districts

Name of the district	*No. of male members*	*Male %*	*No. of female members*	*Female %*	*No. of Total members*
Lemu Bilbilo	10,039	90	1,152	10	11,191
Lode Hetosa	4,238	92	352	8	4,590
Tiyo	7,364	83	1,549	17	8,913
Arsi as whole	130,219	87	20,023	13	150,242

Source: Computed from secondary data collected from Arsi Zone 2018

In the Arsi zone, the participation of women in cooperative organizations is far less than men's participation. This is partly because women in male-headed households cannot be members of the cooperative organization as they are not the registered member of the farmers' organization in the first place. Most people, including women themselves, don't consider women as principal farmers in male-headed households; they are rather regarded as helpers. Evidence from other developing countries reveals "most women in rural Paraguay perform the same agricultural activities as men, but they describe this work as 'helping' [their husbands)" (Ochoa 2012 cited in Clougston 2014:1).

Women in male-headed households don't have their own assets to invest in cooperative organizations (Rani & Yadeta 2016:5). Because women have limited access to and control over the household assets (land and capital), credit and information that disadvantaged them to meet the criteria for being cooperative's member (Woldu, Tadesse & Waller 2013:3). When men are the head of the households, traditionally woman's freedom of movement is constrained by men's control over their mobility (Woldu et al 2013:3).

In male-headed households traditionally the role of women is limited to the reproductive and domestic responsibility of the household and therefore they don't have enough time to participate in a cooperative. Moreover, most women in rural areas are not aware of the benefits of participating in cooperative to empower women. Studies in other African country suggested that low participation of women in cooperative organization can be explained by limited social, economic and legal rights as well as lack of the enforcement of the available rights (Olawale 2012).

Figures in the above table 4.3 only indicate the participation of women (as head of the household) in cooperative. The data show that men constitute the larger share of cooperative membership in all the three districts as well as in entire Arsi Zone. On average women account for 11.6% of the total members of the cooperative in the three selected districts and 13% of the total cooperative members of Arsi zone. The participation of women in cooperative organizations in the Arsi zone is lower than average national membership of women in cooperative organization which accounts for the 20% of cooperative membership (Woldu et al 2013).

Various reasons can be mentioned for the low participation of women in female-headed household in cooperatives:

1. Women who are heads of household mostly engage in subsistence agricultural for household consumption with little emphasis on commercialization of agriculture that requires the marketing cooperative
2. Women have a low level of awareness of the economic and social benefits as well as personal development of the cooperative due to their low level of education
3. Women who are heads of household experience higher poverty rates than other women in male-headed households as they fully engage in the tasks of production and household maintenance roles as well as community roles (Rani & Yadeta 2016)
4. Most women who are heads of household are resource-poor farmers that lack the monetary prerequisites to be a member of the cooperative organization, for instance membership fees, minimum number of share to buy and the contribution of labour.

5. Women often have limited knowledge and experience of business and cooperative. The lack of knowledge and lower level of socio-economic status of women restrain them to make meaningful participation and have their voices heard in cooperative organization (Woldu et al 2013). Therefore, women in general are benefiting less "from cooperatives and their support structures often provide to their members such as credit, education and training, production inputs, technology and marketing outputs" (Rani & Yadeta 2016:381).

The positions women hold in cooperative organization are also constrained by their low level of formal education, limited available time, and cultural norms that favor males' dominance in decision making and leadership positions (see also Olawale 2012). Empirical evidence shows that in agricultural cooperative societies in Ethiopia, the representation of women in leadership and management position is limited to less than 5% (Wolde et al 2014).

4.8 Participation of women in rural credit and saving cooperative organizations

The participation of women in rural credit and saving organizations in Arsi zone is fairly comparable with that of men as shown in the table below (see Table 4.4). This implies that credit and saving organizations offer women's friendly services that meet the needs of women and women are well aware of the benefits of the services.

Table 4.4: Gendered data on members of rural credit and saving organizations in selected districts

Name of the district	*No. of male members*	*Male %*	*No. of female members*	*Female %*	*No. of Total members*
Lemu Bilbilo	343	57.0	259	43.0	602
Lode Hetosa	958	35.3	1,754	64.7	2,712
Tiyo	974	68.4	450	31.6	1,424
Arsi as whole	19,758	47.2	22,079	52.8	41,837

Source: Computed from secondary data 2018

The involvement of many organizations (government organizations, NGOs and private companies) and accompanied awareness creation efforts on the benefit of the services has made the credit and saving cooperatives more attractive to women. Unlike agricultural cooperative organizations

that favour educated male household heads and land owners over female heads and resource-poor women (Woldu et al 2015), credit and saving cooperatives largely target rural resource-poor households, including women.

In developing countries, the credit and savings services provided by micro-finance programmes targeting women have become a popular strategy to alleviate poverty and gender inequality, by increasing the income of women and empowering them to control and use incomes and assets (Mayoux 2005). In addition to its centrality for gender equality, the desirability of targeting women of the credit and saving programme is related to women's higher credit repayment rates than men (Mayoux 2005) and their contributions to economic growth (Mayoux 2000). Women's participation in rural credit and saving cooperatives organization minimizes their vulnerability to food insecurity and extreme poverty by enabling them create assets they use and control, increasing their income, providing them relief during emergency, empowering them to control, decide and execute independently and confidently (Rani & Yadeta 2016:384). Increased women's access to credit and saving services will contribute to enhance their individual well-being as well as their economic and political empowerment (Mayoux 2000, 2005).

In Ethiopia, more emphasis has been placed on the economic functions of the saving and credit cooperatives with the desire to enhance the economic capacity of the resource-poor households including women, thus the social and political empowerment functions are not given much attention (Tefera et al 2017). Evidence reveals that the need for women's empowerment goes beyond fulfilling their material needs, because women value the freedom of mobility, the formation of social networks, the freedom think and act independently, greater respect and recognition they experience at home and within their community (Morioka & Nicholas 2014:7).

In this regard, Ethiopian women still hold lower positions and have minimal power to influence decisions in favor of their special gender needs and make their voices heard due to the low level of their social and political empowerment. The political empowerment of women enhances their representations in the politics and their roles in the leadership positions, while social empowerment increases women's involvement in making decisions concerning their community development and capacity to influence the decisions in favor of their needs through their social networks (see also Mayoux 2000, 2005).

4.9 Conclusions

Ethiopia is the second most populous countries in Africa with total population of estimated over 100 million, of which 80% are still living in rural areas and they depend on agriculture for their

livelihoods. Despite the fact that Ethiopia is an agrarian country which is potentially endowed with high productive natural resourcesand historically the inception of use of plough and growing barley and wheat, cultivations of other indigenous crops such as teff and enset, and raising of livestock date back several centuries ago (Erhart 1979:161), the agricultural sector is still at subsistence level characterized by smallholders dominating, occupying fragmented lands and yielding low productivity. The development of Ethiopian agriculture is constrained by underutilization of available resources such as land and water resources, use of still unimproved farming techniques of wooden oxen plough and hand use sickles, limited adoption of improved technologies and innovations, limited access to productive inputs and other support services, and lack of clear and effective policies on land tenure, conservations of natural resources, agricultural production and marketing. Consequently Ethiopia is still one of the poorest countries with an annual per capita income of $783 (World Bank 2018).

In Ethiopia, women have played various roles in the economy, in public and political spheres. However traditionally since women have always been identified with the prescribed reproductive gender roles they play in the families as mothers and home-makers, their contributions in the economy and other public spheres were largely invisible, due to the discriminatory political, economic, and social rules and regulations prevail in Ethiopian successive ruling parties.

In Arsi Oromo, cultural norms and practices and other manifestations such as religion govern gendered cultures and stereotypes. Since Arsi is a patriarchal society, women generally take subordinate positions in many aspects. However, in Arsi Oromo culture there are social institutions that provide women certain status and privileges in the society and protect them from humiliations, physical and sexual abuses. But the practice of these social institutions is currently suppressed by religious influences.

The participation of women in managing and control of high-value crops is constrained by unequal access to land, capital, productive inputs, support services, and labour requirements. Moreover, the requirements of considerable investment on equipment such as mechanization services and draft animals (oxen), and intra-household gender-based unequal power relations have affected the participation of women in value chains. Women are underrepresented in most profitable nodes of value chains even in traditionally women-controlled commodities such as dairy and vegetables. Because, when agricultural commodities have become commercialized, women lost the power to control over these commodities as these commodities have fallen into the hands of men's control. The following chapter assesses gender equality in different aspects of vegetable and dairy value chains using the primary data gathered for the study.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF GENDER EQUALITY IN VEGETABLE AND DAIRY VALUE CHAINS

5.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter presented contextual and background profiles on relevant topics of the study. Using mainly secondary sources, the preceding chapter presented aspects of gender and agricultural development in Ethiopia, the status of women in general and in the study area in particular, as well as the current and past institutional aspects related to gender and development. This chapter further analyses gender equality from different perspectives in relation with the vegetables and dairy value chains.

5.2 Socio-economic profile of research participants

The participants in this study include interviewees, focus group participants, and key informants. Table 5.1 indicates the demographic characteristics of the participants who were involved in structured interviews and focus group discussions, out of which 30 were engaged in in-depth interviews. The participants of the research in this study are classified into three groups: male-head of household 33.3%, female head of household 41.7%, and women in MHHs 25%. As indicated in total, women (66.7%) outnumbered men (33.3%). This was deliberate because of the need to include women from MHHs as they are also one of the actors of value chains.

The majority of the research participants (68.3%) were between 35 and 60 and the remaining 21.7% and 10% were 18-35 and above 60, respectively. Therefore most of the data were obtained from economically active member of household with longer years of experience of working in the agricultural sector.

There was a clear gap in education attainments between men and women respondents. About 20% of women's participants do not write and read (illiterate); conversely, significant numbers of men have high school level of education attainments. As it is observed in chapter four the gender gap of education enrollment in Ethiopia has significantly boosted; however, in rural areas of Arsi there is still a low level of education attainment among women.

Despite the majority of the research participants have some forms of primary education attainments, the fact that women were disproportionally represented in the lower level of education (20% with no education and 75% with primary junior education) have a negative implication for the empowerment of women.

Table 5.1: Demographic characteristics of research participants

Characteristics		N	Percentage
Sex	Male	20	33.3
	Female	40	66.7
	Total	60	100
Age	18-35	13	21.7
	35-60	41	68.3
	above 60	6	10.0
Education level (men)	Illiterate	1	5.0
	Primary Junior (1- 8)	12	60.0
	High school	7	35.0
	Above high school	0	0.0
Education level (women)	Illiterate	8	20.0
	Primary Junior (1-8)	30	75.0
	High school	2	5.0
	Above high school	0	0
Title in household	Male heads	20	33.3
	Female heads	25	41.7
	Women in male head	15	25.0
	Total	60	100

Source: author's field data 2018

5.3 Analysis of gender roles in value chains

Participants' involvements in value chain were assessed as shown in Table 5.2. It is important to note that one participant may be involved in more than one activity in the value chain. Therefore the figures indicated are not exclusive of one another. For instance, a producer might perform both production and processing activities or can be a member of managing committee while she/he is performing other value chain activities.

Table 5.2: Participants' involvement in value chains by gender

Value chains	Male		Female	
	number	percentage	number	percentage
Input suppliers	4	20	0	0
producers	5	25	30	75
Labourers/employees	1	5	9	23
Collectors	4	20	0	0
processors	2	10	20	50
Wholesalers	5	25	0	0
Retailers	4	20	10	25
VC managing committee	6	30	2	5

Source: author's analysis from field data

The involvements of research participants along vegetables and dairy value chains were highly gendered. The participation of men along the functions of value chain nodes are fairly distributed from production to processing and marketing. Women's involvement in the value chain was highly concentrated in the production and processing activities as well as to less extent in retailing activities of dairy and vegetable production.

In all the three districts we were unable to find women participants in marketing activities of inputs and in major marketing activities of outputs. As indicated, women were absent in input provision activities, and other marketing activities such as collecting and wholesaling. Therefore women are primarily incorporated and benefited in vegetable and dairy value chains as producers and processors.

In both vegetable and dairy value chains, most value chain coordinating activities were run by men. Women are underrepresented in the management positions of value chains. For instance, out of the total 20 men interviewed, 30 percent reported that they are members of the value chain managing committee, while only 2 (5%) out of 40 interviewed women reported that they are members value chain managing committee.

Data from focus group discussion reveal that besides their lesser involvement in value chain's managing committees, even when they are involved as committee members, women often held

subordinate positions such as secretory, storekeepers, and cashier while men held most of the important decision making positions.

Table 5.3: Gender differential participation in vegetable growers and dairy producers groups

Value chain group	Total participants	men participants	women participants	men owners	Women owners	men employee	Women employees	Women family labourers
Vegetable grower group	35	10	25	16	12	2	5	8
Dairy producer groups	25	5	20	14	8	0	3	9
Total	60	15	45	29	20	3	8	17

Source: field data 2018

In the two commodities of vegetable and dairy production selected for the study, the actual participation of men and women were observed. As shown in Table 5.4 the actual participation of women in both vegetable and dairy production groups was higher than men. This is because most of the activities of vegetable and dairy production are performed by women. However, it is important to note that men controlled the ownership of both commodities than women did. For instance, although the number of women participants in vegetable and dairy producer group was 25 and 20 respectively, compared to the number of men participants of the two commodities producer groups, 10 and 5 respectively, men controlled most of the ownership of the two commodities.

The most important finding of this study was that in even male headed-households, the involvement of women in the production process of the two commodities were much higher than men, although the ownership and decision making power was in the hands of men who are the heads of households. In both commodities, women take the ownership position only if they are heads of the households.

As Table 5.4 shows, women participants in each commodity include women owners that represent women as heads of the households, women employees, and unpaid women that contribute to family labour in male-headed households. Men participants in each commodity comprise of men owners minus women contributors to family labour, plus men employees.

Unlike in cereal crop production in the study areas women perform most of the activities of vegetable and dairy production; therefore their involvements were high at all levels of productions as owners or contributors of family labours or casual employees.

Only heads of the households are considered to be parts of the formal farming economy where most of the development interventions are targeted. The rest of participants such as, casual employees, and women in MHHs whose labour contributions in value chains is high are out of the realm of formal economy and often neglected in the agricultural development interventions.

5.4 Analysis of gender roles in household, in agriculture and value chains

This section presents the roles rural women play within the households, agricultural production and in the community in the study area.

5.4.1 Gendered division of labour in the households

In the household, men and women have different roles according to the tasks and responsibilities assigned to men and women based on their gender roles. In the study area, men and women have different but complementary roles. In addition to their significant labour contributions in agricultural production, in rural Arsi, women still tend to dominate all the domestic and reproductive roles in the household. This burdens women to work more hours a day than men. From time use survey it was observed that with some seasonal variations of the intensity of work rural women in Arsi work from dawn (5 am) to the evening (11 pm). In this study, women and men respondents were asked to state what activities they actually do on daily basis. The result is summarized as follows.

Table 5.4: Gendered daily activities in household

Time range	Activities performed	
	Women	**Men**
5 am– 8 am	• Cook breakfast and make coffee • Serve breakfast • Make ready children for school • Cleaning a house • Feed cows • Milk cows • Clean dishes	• Pray • Release cattle to the field • Feed oxen • Eat breakfast and have coffee
8 am-12 am	• Fetch water • Clean animal barn • Make cow dung/cake/ • Take care of livestock • Wash cloth (but not every day) • Work on the farm	• Work on farm
12am -3pm	• Prepare lunch • Serve lunch • Work on the farm	• Eat lunch • Work on the farm
3 pm – 5 pm	• Collect fuel wood • Feed cows and take care of calves • Check on whether all livestock are safe • Participate in socialization activities of their neighbours	• Continue to work on the farm during harvesting time • Visit friends and socialize • Check on livestock
5pm -8 pm	• Milk cows • Cook dinner • make coffee • Serve dinner and coffee • Clean dishes	• Collect livestock • Have a dinner and rest
8pm – 11 pm	• Make bed for family • Clean house • Prepare food for the next day	• Rest and chat with family • Go to bed around 10 pm.
After 11 pm	• Go to bed	

Source: Compiled from summary of focus group discussions

Women respondents indicated they spend up to 16 hours a day on work throughout the year, while men indicated they spend 6 -10 hours that vary depending on which season they are in—off-season or peak production season. Men work longer hours, approximately from 8:30 am to 5:30 pm during harvesting and threshing season, which runs from the end of October to mid-January

depending on the agro-ecology of the respective district. Planting season from June to July is the second busiest season when men work longer hours from 8 am to 4 pm. During these peak times men normally take rest when they come home from work. In the rest months of the year men engage in irregular light works such as construction and maintenance of fences, house, and animal shed, preparing animal feeds, and caring of livestock. During this time, they spend no more than six hours on actual work. Therefore, in Arsi except harvesting and planting season men have more free time that allow them to participate on off-farm activities, irregular household maintenance activities, arbitration, meeting people, other social activities and leisure.

Contrary to this, in most cases, women don't have the free time to spend on leisure. It was mentioned that women spend the whole day on work. It was boldly mentioned that the only resting time for women is when they have a coffee ceremony (not every day) with their neighbors and at the time they go to bed. A similar previous study reported that women in Arsi work for 15-18 hours a day (Catholic Relief Services 2013:28).

In addition to typical daily activities mentioned in Table 5.11, women in rural Arsi are responsible for care activities for children, sick person and elderly. Besides, they have to travel longer distance to undertake some other activities such as fetching water, visiting grinding mill for flour making, taking milk to the milk processing and selling point, visiting market place for selling vegetable or grain on small-scale and buy other household consuming items. Some of these activities are undertaken on daily basis while others can be done weekly. Besides, some rural women also perform petty trading to support their household's income. Therefore, in the study area the gendered division of labour assigns more workload to women, and women work longer hours than men.

Respondents were asked how many hours they spend on farm activities on the field, livestock related activities, reproductive care activities, resting, and sleeping on daily basis and the result is summarized in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Summary of times men and women spend on daily activities

Activities	Time men spend	Time women spend	Descriptions
Working on farm	6 hours	5 hours	In most farm activities both men and women are involved. But most activities in which men engaged are seasonal
Livestock related activities	2 hours	4 hours	Women perform most of the livestock-related activities such as caring for livestock, feeding, milking and keeping their hygiene than men
Reproductive activities	2 hours	7 hours	Almost all the reproductive activities are performed by women. Men only assist in caring for children in the evening and morning
Rest during the day	6 hours	2 hours	Men farmers have more free hours to rest during the day; while women don't have much time to rest.
Sleeping	9 hours	6 hours	Most men go to bed early before 10 pm and wakeup in the morning late after 6 am; but women regularly sleep after 11 pm and get up around 5 am.
Daily time spend on work	10 hours	16 hours	Women spend about 44 % more hours on work than men in a day.

Source: Compiled from field data 2018

Women spend more hours than men in production activities when we see their involvement in on-farm activities and livestock-related activities. Alongside with their production roles, women spend 7 hours on uncounted regular reproductive household care activities. The reproductive activities particularly worsened the workload of women, because they are routine, labour-intensive and time consuming. Consequently, women in general and FHHs women in particular spend long working hours on work with less time to rest than men. This inevitably has negative effects on the wellbeing and health of women. A study by Cherinet and Mulugeta (2003:12) reveals that in Ethiopia the fact that the period in which women face heaviest workload of peak agricultural season generally coincide with the period of household food shortage, has increased women's strain and affected their wellbeing and health. The longer hours women spend on agriculture during peak production season can have negative impacts on infant and young children feedings that lead to detrimental nutritional outcomes.

Analysis of gender division of labour by seasonal calendar shows that in addition to their commitment to the daily household maintenances; alongside with men, women engage in most of the agricultural activities conducted in all seasons of production. As shown in Table 5.6, the other activities from land preparation to harvesting and storing with some variations of intensity in their engagement of the activities. For instance, though women perform most agricultural production, their involvement is high in seed cleaning, weeding, storage, husking, processing and harvesting of vegetables. Therefore they have more workload and work longer hours from June—beginning of planting season to January—end of harvesting season.

Table 5.6: Gender division of labour in seasonal calendar

Season	Men's main activity	Main activities performed by women	Main activities performed by men	What technological aids to use to perform the activities
Spring (Tsedey)	September	-Weeding and hoeing is mostly done by women	-Assist women and children in weeding. -Most chemical spraying is performed by men -perform rouging	-Men use chemical sprayer
	October	-Perform regular daily maintenance activities	- Free time	
	November	- Perform daily maintenance activities -Harvesting, gathering - Preparing food for men harvesters	-Mostly harvesting is performed by men -Negotiating and renting combine harvester from mechanization service providers	-Combine harvester is used to harvest some cereal crops such as wheat and barley in Arsi
Summer (Bega)	December	-Harvesting, gathering - Prepare and bring foods for men harvesters	-Mostly harvesting -Negotiating for combine harvester from company	-Combine harvester is used in some crops
	January	- Regular reproductive activities -Assisting men in threshing	-Threshing, winnowing is mainly performed by men	-Combine harvester is used in some

		-Storing of the produce is mainly done by women	-Men assist in storing of the produces	districts for some crops
	February	-Women sell small portion of the produce to cover the daily maintenance expenses	-Most selling of the produce in larger-scale is performed by men after harvesting season	-
Autumn (Belg)	March	-Perform land clearing	-Perform land clearing	
	April	-Prepare food for men ploughing land	-Ploughing	Some farmers use tractor while most farmers use oxen for ploughing
	May	-Prepare food for men who plough land	-Ploughing	Some farmers use tractor and most farmers use oxen for ploughing
Winter (Kiremt)	June	- Preparing seeds, cleaning seeds -Planting vegetable and assisting men in row seeding and fertilizer application	-Engaging in seed selection, buying seeds -Planting vegetable -Sowing grain seeds -Fertilizer application	
	July	-Weeding, hoeing -Assist in fertilizer application	-Spraying chemicals -Fertilizer application	
	August	-Weeding, hoeing, -Assist in fertilizer application	-Spraying chemicals -Fertilizer application	

Source: compiled from focus group discussion with men and women

In Arsi, traditionally men are champion in oxen plough and harvesting of cereal crops. But harvesting of vegetable crops are performed by both men and women as well as children. Respondents mentioned that most vegetable growers found it more convenient to employ women for harvesting onion, potato, and other vegetables.

According to the seasonal calendar of Arsi, in the study districts men are busy during planting (June and July) and harvesting (November to January) seasons. In the rest of the months, they have more free time to spend either on leisure or be involved in off-farm employment activities where there

are opportunities to do so. Added to this, the suitability of land in Arsi for mechanization and the availability of mechanization services have made life easier for men as there is the possibility to use a tractor for cultivation of land and combine harvester for harvesting most grains. The availability of emerging infrastructure such as road, telecommunication, and transportation services in most districts of Arsi have made transportation and marketing of agricultural produce easier particularly for men as they mostly engage in these activities than women. Most mechanization services are not affordable for poor farmers, particularly women farmers.

For those farm activities mostly performed by women such as planting, weeding, hoeing, harvesting of vegetables, and storing, there are no technological aids that can be used by women to perform these activities that would ease their burden. There are only a few technologies available in rural areas (like grinding mill) that could reduce women's housework obligations. Therefore, women in the study areas still perform most of the activities manually in traditional and time-consuming ways.

Besides the seasonal agricultural activities they perform and their commitment to household maintenances, women in the study areas are regularly involved in animal care, feeding animals, milking cows, maintaining the hygiene of animal sheds and other related activities.

5.4.2 Analysis of roles and responsibilities of men and women in the agriculture value chain

In agricultural value chains, both men and women have various roles and responsibilities to play at different stages of the value chain. In addition to their commitment to the domestic household reproductive activities, in Ethiopia rural women alongside men play important roles in agricultural production, processing and marketing activities. Traditionally most of the vegetable and dairy production activities are considered as women's responsibility. However, women also play immense roles in the value chains of other agricultural commodities such as wheat, maize, and coffee particularly at production level (Dereje et al 2016, Nahusenay 2017).

Table 5.7: Gendered roles in conventional agriculture in cereal production

Main activities	The role of men	The role of women	Joint roles performed
Input supply	-In MHHs it is entirely men's responsibility to supply inputs	-In FHHs it is the responsibility of women to supply required inputs	-In a few MHHs the decision on use of input is jointly made; but in most HHs men alone decide
Land Preparation		-In FHHs land clearing is made	-In MHHs land clearing is jointly made
Ploughing	-In both MHHs and FHHs ploughing was done by men	-Preparing lunch for workers	-
Planting	-	-	-For most HHs planting was jointly conducted
Weeding	-Men sometimes support women in weeding	-Women perform most of the weeding activities together with children in most HHs	- In some HHs weeding is performed together by men and women
Chemical Spray	-In both HHs chemical spray is done by men alone	-Supply water for chemical spray activity	-
Harvesting	-	-	-Unlike in cereal crop, harvesting of vegetable is performed jointly by men and women
Collecting And Storing	-Men also support in collecting and storing activities in their free time	-Most collection and storing activities are performed by women	-
Transporting	-	-	Jointly performed
Selling	-Men sell vegetables in bulk to wholesalers	- Women sell vegetables on small-scale in local market	-
Decision on Income Use	-In most MHHs men decide on income use	-In all FHHs women decide on income use	-In a few MHHs jointly decided

Source: compiled from field data 2018

Table 5.8: Gendered roles in Conventional Dairy production

Main activities	The role of men	The role of women	Joint roles performed

Input supply	-Inputs are supplied by men working in private company	-	-
Animal feed preparation	-In MHHs men are mostly responsible in preparing animal feeds	- In FHHs women are responsible for animal feed preparations	- In some MHHs there is possibility to jointly perform animal feed preparation activities
Feeding Cows	-	-Mainly performed by women	-In a few MHHs men also assist in feeding animals
Caring For Cows and Calves	-	-Entirely performed by women alone	-
Cleaning Barn		-Entirely performed by women alone	
Milking	-	-Entirely performed by women alone	-
Dairy Processing	-	-Entirely performed by women alone	-
Transporting Milk to Market Point	-	-Mostly performed by women or children	-
Selling Milk	-	-Entirely performed by women	-
Decision on Income Use	-In most MHHs men decide on income use	-In all FHHs women decide on income use	-In a few MHHs jointly decided

Source: analyzed from primary data

As indicated in Table 5.9 and 5.10, despite women being engaged in most of the vegetable and dairy value chain production and marketing activities than men, they took subordinate positions in making decisions on income use generated from the two commodities. The role of women in input supply and marketing of vegetable products on large-scale supply to wholesale market is minimal as compared to men. Even in a dairy value where women play most roles including marketing of dairy products; the responsibility to control income use goes to men in MHHs. There is clear intra-household inequality between men and women in terms of their participation in performing value chain activities and the power to control the benefits from the value chain.

When we compare MHHs with FHHs, men participate in the value chain where more capital and other resources are required, and better profits are obtained. For instance, in both dairy and vegetable value chains, MHHs participate in input supply and marketing particularly wholesaling of the produces, while FHHs dominated the less profitable node of the value chain such as production, simple processing and marketing on a small-scale, local level.

Although both dairy and vegetables are commonly seen as women's commodities where women play more roles than men, value chain governance and the decision-making role is dominated by MHHs than FHHs except in women-only vegetable producer and marketing group where the entire business activities and governance are run by women.

An analysis of the interviews with FHHs participating in value chains have indicated that FHHs are not equally benefiting from the value chain due to some specific constraints they usually face:

1. Most FHHs have limited resources including land, capital, and other necessary farm implements and equipment than their MHHs counterpart,
2. FHHs are less educated and therefore they have less knowledge and skills of agricultural technology and management,
3. Women farmers are often kept from accessing productive inputs and receiving support services from research and development agencies,
4. In addition to their engagement in agriculture value chain they have additional reproductive family roles at home as well as social role in their community that make their daily life overburdened,
5. Lack of household labour and inability to hire labour that could perform some physically demanding activities,
6. FHHs have limited mobility that impede them from attending important trainings and making social networking, and
7. FHHs don't hold important governing positions in value chain due their lower level of education, social norms, and unfavorable perception of their leadership capacity.

Therefore, due to these constraining factors in both vegetable and dairy value chains women tend to dominate less profitable node of the value chain such as production, local processing and retailing while men tend to control activities where more capital is required, and profit margin is high. Studies suggest that despite women in Ethiopia making 70% of labour contribution in agriculture, they produce up to three times less than what is produced by men farmers due to the gender discrimination they face (Catholic Relief Services 2013:2).

5.4.3 Gendered activity analysis in value chains

Like in other household activities in value chains men and women perform different activities. During interviews, the gender dimensions of each activity in the value chain was captured by probing

how much time men and women spend on each listed activity of the value chains, which gives the relative contributions of men and women in each activity.

5.9: Gendered activity analysis in vegetable and dairy value chains

Vegetable value chains				Dairy value chains			
Activities in vegetable value chain	**Who does the work**			**Activities in dairy value chain**	**Who does the work**		
	Men	**Women**	**Jointly**		**Men**	**Women**	**Jointly**
Land clearance			X	Feed preparation			X
Ploughing	X			Animal feeding		X	
Planting			X	Milking		X	
Irrigating			X				
Weeding	X	XX		Caring for cows and calves		X	
Hoeing	X	XX		Building sheds	XX	X	
Spraying chemicals	XX	X		Cleaning sheds		X	
Harvesting			X	Taking animal to breeders and veterinarians	XX	X	
Storing	X	XX		Milk processing		X	
Processing/preparing for market		XX		Transporting	X	XX	
Transporting			X	Selling	X	XX	
Selling	XX	X					

Source: analyzed from field data and observations

A symbol (**X**) was used to indicate who does the activity. If it happens that both men and women spend the same amount of time on a particular activity, it implies they perform the activity jointly. If both men and women engage in the same activity but the contributions of one exceed the other, a symbol (**XX)** was used to indicate the relative contributions of men or women.

As shown in Table 5.13, in vegetable value chains, men and women participate in most of the activities with variations in relative contributions they make in each activity. Except for ploughing activity which is identified as a men's role, in performing the rest of vegetable value chain activities both men and women contribute. The contribution of women in weeding, hoeing, storage and processing activities is higher than that of men. Conversely, the relative contribution of men in

performing chemical spray activity is higher than women. In this particular activity, women contribute in assisting men by providing water for the chemical spray.

In dairy value chains, most of the activities are performed exclusively by women. The participation of women in performing dairy activities is limited to preparing animal feeds such as making hays and silages and collecting straw, constructing and maintaining animal sheds, and taking animal to the veterinary service center. Despite women also participate in performing these activities, they exclusively engage in performing other activities such as feeding cows, milking, cleaning animal sheds, caring for animals, and processing and marketing.

Compared with conventional agriculture, in value chains, gendered division of labour has changed, particularly in vegetable value chains. For instance, in conventional cereals production, there are some activities such as oxen-plough, sowing seeds, and harvesting which are not commonly performed by women. But in vegetable value chains, women engage equally with men in almost all the activities from land preparation to harvesting.

As far as dairy value chains are concerned, gendered division of labour has not changed very much. Similar to the conventional household milk production, most of the dairy value chain activities are exclusively performed by women. In dairy cooperatives selected for this study, the role of men was limited to governance and most other activities including milk processing and marketing are exclusively performed by women. It is important to note that marketing of vegetable and dairy was traditionally dominated by women at the local market level; however, with the relative growth and expansion of the vegetable and dairy businesses, the marketing role is taken over by men. This is because as marketing of these commodities, particularly vegetables, was grown, it demanded more technological and financial resources as well as wider geographical linkages which are out of reach for most women. Women's access to the productive market is also limited by cultural norms that restricts their mobility and networking with potential buyers, and perceptions on women's roles.

In most MHHs, women are excluded from receiving most of the support services such as capacity development training and extension services as they are not registered members of farmer organizations. Moreover, income generated from dairy value chain is controlled by men.

It is believed that added to the reproductive care roles and community obligations, the participation of women in value chain has exacerbated women's time poverty by increasing their workload though it has generally increased household income.

Although traditionally marketing of vegetable particularly the role to sell vegetable produce was given to women; in vegetable value chains it was observed that this role has switched to men due to

improved market incentive that attracted men to control profitable income. As shown in Table 5.9 most vegetable marketing role in vegetable value chains is controlled by men, while traditionally it is considered the roles of women.

Unequal gender division of labour that assigns greater workloads of household care and reproductive activities to women has implications on women's involvement in the agriculture value chain. Women in both MHHs and FHHs indicated that household reproductive and care commitment workload is one of the factors that limit their participation in the value chain and productive decent work. This is because the portion of the time women spend on household care and reproductive activities could have been spent on value-adding activities. Women don't have much time to participate in knowledge and skills development training and visit different organizations and gain firsthand experiences in product upgrading and marketing.

5.5 Gender gap in agricultural value chains

There are different gendered factors that explain gender differences in agricultural productivity between men and women. These can be access to resources and ability or capacity to use these resources, access to productive inputs, support services, and market.

5.5.1 Gendered access to resources

In the study area, land is allocated to the head of households and other members of the households such as women in MHHs get access to the land through user-rights given to the head of the household. In female-headed household woman as head of households has the same user-right on land. However, due to some socio-cultural and institutional factors that will be discussed later in this chapter and the next (chapter 6), men control more land than women in the study areas.

5.5.1.1 Gender-based landholding and use dynamics

As depicted in the Table 5.10, average landholding for participant men was 2 hectares while that of women was 1 hectare. In MHHs the size of land used for cultivation was even surpass the size of landholding, this was mainly due to the fact that men farmers often use extra lands that are mostly obtained from either renting or sharecropping from other resource-poor farmers such as women who also have problems acquiring labour and draft animals.

Table 5.10: Household average land holding and use (N=60)

	Landholding (ha)	Rented land (ha)	Land allocated for share cropping (ha)	Cultivated land (ha)	Land used for vegetable

	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
Maximum	5.50	2.25	2.00	0	0	0.75	7.00	1.75	1.00	0.5
Minimum	0.5	0.12	0.25	0	0	0.12	0.25	0.12	0.25	0.12
Average	2.00	1.00	0.5	0	0	0.25	2.25	0.75	0.75	0.25

Source: field data 2018

It can be observed that of all the respondents, only male farmers indicated that they have rented land, on average of 0.5 hectares. On the other side, only women respondents reported that they have allocated a portion of their land, on average a quarter of hectares (0.25 ha) for sharecropping due to limited resources to invest in land and shortage of labour. Land allocated for vegetable production varies by gender. On average, men-headed households allocated 0.75 hectares while FHHs allocated 0.25 hectares. The distributions of landholding and use vary between men and women farmers. 90% of all men respondents have more than 0.5 hectares of landholding of which 60% have more than 1.5 hectares and 20% have more than 2.5 hectares.

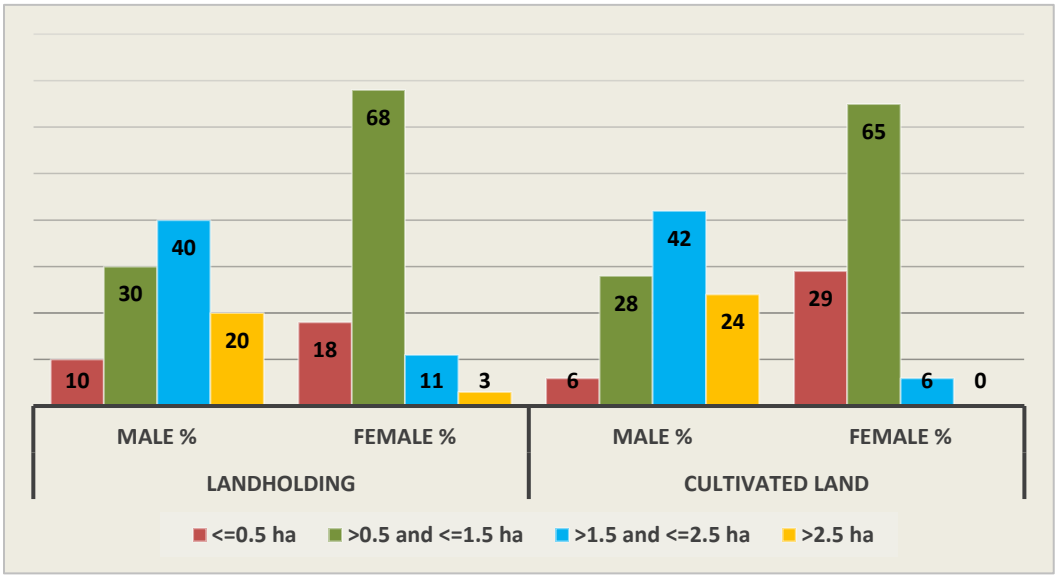


Figure 5.1: Landholding and use distribution by gender (N=60)

Source: computed from field data of 2018

The majority of women about 86% have less than or equals to 1.5 hectares of landholdings. From these, 18% have 0.5 hectares or less. Only 14% of the women respondents have more than 1.5 hectares compared to men farmers 60%.

When it comes to land utilization mostly men use more lands to cultivate than women. It was observed that most male farmers cultivated more lands either by renting lands from or sharecropping with other farmers mostly from poor farmers who are unable to cultivate their lands due to different reasons such as lack of seeds and other inputs, lack draft animals, and lack of labour to work on a farm. Therefore as indicated in figure 5.1, over 94% of the male farmers cultivated more than 0.5 hectares. The majority, 42% of male farmers, used from 1.5 to 2.5 hectares for cultivation and 24% cultivated more than 2.5 hectares.

Contrary to men farmers, women farmers' land utilization for cultivation is low. About 29% of women farmers cultivated 0.5 hectares or less. The majority, 65% of women respondents, cultivated more than 0.5 and up to 1.5 hectares. Only 6% of women cultivated more than 1.5 hectares and less than 2.5 hectares compared to men 42%. Different reasons can be mentioned for these variations in land use for cultivation. Women farmers have fewer landholdings than men, women headed-households are often unable to buy seeds, fertilizers, and other necessary productive inputs, and in plough-based agriculture, women always depends on men for labour, which is often required for ploughing lands, harvesting grains, and performing other gendered roles.

5.5.2 Gender difference in access to productive inputs and market

Studies confirmed that gender differences in access to productive inputs and use can result in differences in the amount of outputs produced by men and women producers (World Bank 2012, FAO 2014). This study also showed that there are clear differences between men and women households in access to and use of productive inputs and technologies. On average men-headed households used more than twice the improved seeds and fertilizer than FHHs. FHHs used far fewer herbicide and fungicide chemicals. In interviews it was indicated that most resource-poor farmers including FHHs often use manual weeding than chemical herbicides. This is to minimize costs for purchasing chemicals and hiring labour for chemical spray which is usually performed by men.

Table 5.11: Gender differential in average productive input use (N=60)

Households	*improved seed use kg*	*Fertilizer use kg*	*Herbicide use (liter)*	*Fungicide use (liter)*	*Credit received (Birr)*	*size of land under irrigation (ha)*
Men	200	250	2	3	15000	0.25
Women	75	100	1	1	3500	0.125

Source: author computed from field data

Responses from the group interviews show that both genders have almost equal access to loan and credit services. However as indicated in Table 5.11, women use more credit services than men. This is because most credit service providers such as micro and small enterprises, local credit and saving organizations provide small amounts of loans usually fit the need of resource-poor farmers. Most men interviewees said that they are not interested in such kind of credit and loan services as it is too small for their investment needs of agricultural production and marketing.

One of the men interviewees, gave his response on this as follows:

> "*We don't get the amount of credit we need. Most of the available credit providers provide a maximum of 3000 to 5000 Birr a year for individual. But what am I going to do with this amount? I would have taken if more credit has been provided. For instance I need more than 20,000 Birr credit for expansion of my farms, for building good storage of potato and onions, to purchase horse- cart for transportation and the like.*"

This implies men participants found the amount of credit provided insufficient and hence most of them were not interested in taking the credit. Consequently, the average use of credit for MHHs in

2017 was as low as 1500 Birr. Because most rural loan and credit providing institutions that mostly targeting resource poor farmers such as women provide inadequate amount of money in which most men farmers are not interested to take.

Access to irrigation facilities was also dominated by MHHs. On average, FHHs used half of a quarter of hectares (0.125) for irrigation compared to MHHs who used a quarter of hectares (0.25) under irrigation.

Since most of the credit service providers target rural women including women in MHHs, as shown in Table 5.5, women used relatively higher amounts of credit on average than men in 2017 production year. Women reported that they use the money they get on credit to buy seeds, fertilizer and other chemical inputs as well as to pay for labour.

There are gender differences in the number of households using improved seeds, chemical fertilizer, pesticides and other technologies such as mechanization services, post-harvest technologies and access to productive markets.

It has been observed that most MHHs 75% use improved seeds while only 20 % of FHHs use improved seeds. This implies that about 80 % of female-headed household uses either local seeds from market or own saved seeds of lower productivity. Gender difference in the number of households use chemicals such as fertilizer and pesticides was relatively lower. However, as indicated in Table 5.5 the differences laid on the amount of chemical fertilizer and pesticides used between male and female-headed households. For instance, in 2017 production year on average women used 100kg of chemical fertilizer and 1 liter of herbicides while in the same year men used 250kg of fertilizer and 2 liters of herbicide.

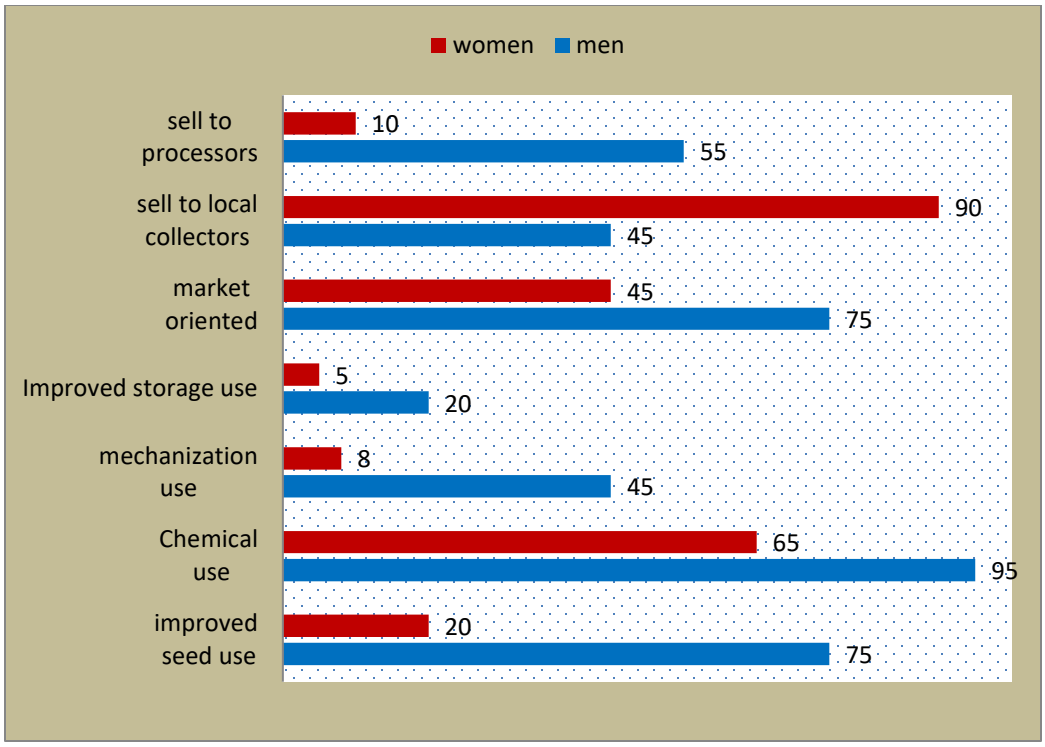


Figure 5.2: percentage of productive input use and market by gender (N=60)

Source: author computed from field data

Women have less access to machines and post-harvest technologies such as improved storage facilities. Consequently, as shown in fig 5.2, very small percentages of women (less than 10%) have used these technologies while 45% of men respondents indicated they have used a tractor and/or combine harvesters in 2017. Household accessibility and use of mechanization and other post-harvest technologies depends on his/her financial capacity to acquire the technologies or pay for the services. Most resource poor households particularly women-headed households have indicated that mechanization services are unaffordable to them and hence they don't often use the services.

Participant producers of both vegetable and dairy value chains have indicated that they primarily produce vegetables for market and milk for household consumption as well as for the market. However, the level of market orientation varies by gender. As indicated in figure 5.2, 75% of male producers are market oriented compared to 45% of women.

It was observed that women have less access to market and market information. They often sell their produce to local collectors who usually pay a lower price. Contrary most men producers sell their harvest to the processors with a better price and market guarantee. From the group discussions it was observed that men have better access to market information than women. This is because they are

more mobile than women and can contact and visit market agencies and organizations such as cooperatives whenever they want, but traditionally women are less mobile and they are confined to domestic household roles. More men in Arsi also use communication technology particularly cellphone than women do, therefore they are in a better position to get market information from fellow farmers, development agents, and market agencies.

Generally, women's lower access to productive inputs and market is the result of the combinations of factors related to gender discrimination as well as the capacity of the household to access them. In in-depth interviews with women they gave their explanation on the reason why FHHs often use lesser amount of inputs than men-headed households.

> *"I am well aware of the importance to use certified seeds, but the problem is it is too expensive to for me to buy. To buy 100 kg of certified seeds of wheat I have to at least sell 200kg of grain/own seed/ which can affect the consumption of my family. There is also a time when I need to buy some important inputs such as potatoes seed, fertilizer, and fungicides, but only those farmers mostly men who have good contacts with development agents and have better information are able to get those inputs. Like most of the women I spend more time working on-farm around homestead area and performing household responsibilities. Therefore, I don't regularly meet input providing agencies and get up-to-date information on available inputs.* " (Adult woman from Tiyo district)

In focus group discussions, participants have indicated that most women producers sell their produce, particularly vegetables, to local collectors because of the problem of transportation. They mentioned that they can at least take their grain harvests such as wheat and barley to the nearest local market mostly found in the district capital. But this is not possible for fresh vegetables such as potatoes, onions, carrot, and cabbages that normally need transportation facilities in bulk. It was also mentioned that resource poor farmers like FHHs usually produce small amount of harvests which is inconvenient to independently renting vehicle for transportation of produces to the central market. As a result most women producers sell their vegetable on farm gate price (lower price) to the collectors and traders who have either transportation facilities or the capacity to hire vehicle for transportation.

Conversely, most men producer particularly vegetable growers sell their produce to the wholesalers or processors. This is because first, most men produce relatively high volume of harvests which is convenient for renting vehicles for transportation, second, they have better access to market information as they have better level of literacy to understand the trend market and they have an opportunity to regularly meet potential buyers in urban areas than women farmers whose mobility is limited due to either cultural restriction or problem of time poverty.

The majority of the interviewees (84%) believe that women have less access to productive resources and market than men. As we have discussed, this was due to different constraints women face in relation to their gender roles such as time poverty, restriction of mobility, and limited human and financial capacity.

Household access to capacity development training on sustainable production technologies, soil and water conservation, diseases and pest control and management, animal production and basic veterinary services are equally important in boosting the productivity of households. Most of the training services offered by the development agencies such as government organizations and NGOs commonly target heads of the households who are, by default, men.

Table 5.12: Assessment of respondents participation in agricultural development training during the last three years (N=60)

Year	Vegetable value chain participants				Dairy value chain participants			
	Male Percentage		Female Percentage		Male Percentage		Female Percentage	
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
2016	68	32	35	65	79	21	39	61
2017	77	23	40	60	76	24	30	70
2018	82	18	47	53	85	15	40	60

Source: computed from interviewees responses 2018

Observations reveal that the majority of FHHs have not attended capacity development training during three production years (2016 to 2018). As we have discussed most resource-poor households including women mostly incorporated in value chains as producers of their own farms or employees in commercial farms. To effectively perform these roles which are essential in boosting the productivity of a given value chain, acquiring knowledge and technical skills through capacity development training are vitally important. However, it was observed that women, in general, do not benefit from the training services rendered by different agencies.

This study found out that in vegetable and dairy value chains women are highly involved in most value chain activities. These women are not only from FHHs. There are many women from MHHs who perform most of the activities in vegetable and dairy production and marketing. However, they are not the target beneficiary of the support services provided by the development agencies including capacity development training services. Generally these women are not considered as members of the farmers' organization, and only their husbands as heads of the households are counted

as registered member of farmers' organization to whom different support services will be channeled. An adult woman in her thirties, from Tiyo district explained the situation as follows

> "*I am a potato producer in Katar Genet. I am engaged in almost all of the activities of potato production including land preparation, planting, weeding, watering, hoeing harvesting, and storing. My husband supports me in his free time after performing his main grain production activities. But most of the activities of potato productions are performed by me with supports of my two sons after school. I have never participated in any training related to vegetable production. But my husband participated in much training, because he is the one responsible for the household. I may substitute him in his absence; otherwise he is the one who is frequently contacted by officials for any kind of household concerned issues*."

Studies conducted in other developing countries also show that despite women spending much of their time in agricultural production, agricultural extension services such as advisory services, training, and provision of information largely neglected women in many countries (World Bank 2012).

In relation to head of household, the most striking issue this study has come across was the case of the dairy value chain. In the smallholder dairy producer cooperative of *Dosha* in Tiyo district and *Bekoji akebai* in Lemubilbilo district, it was observed that almost all dairy activities are performed by women both in FHHs and MHHs. In FHHs, woman as head of household are at least nominally the target beneficiary of development interventions including training services, despite they receive lesser services than men in actual sense. But women of MHHs reported that though they were involved in most dairy production, processing and marketing activities they never participated in any capacity development services provided by dairy cooperative organization and its supporting agencies. In key informant interviews extension officer assigned as facilitator of dairy cooperative explained the situation as unacceptable.

> "*Women of male-headed household are not eligible to participate in any capacity development training and other benefits targeting members, because women are not legal members of dairy cooperative. They cannot even participate on meeting or on any issues concerning dairy cooperative. But everyone knows that they are the one who perform most dairy activities such as feeding cows, milking cow, caring for calves, cleaning animal sheds, maintaining hygiene of milk and milk products and processing milk and milk products. However, most advisory services, training and information are provided to men who are the legal member of dairy cooperatives and personally women of MHHs are not the target beneficiary of these services for the simple reason that they are not personally registered member of farmer's organization*

including cooperatives. Therefore it is common to see that men are trained for many activities that they actually do not perform while women are denied training on the subject they actually perform."

This indicates that in male-headed households, all the support services including agricultural extension services and trainings are targeted at men and the spouse is not a direct beneficiary of such agricultural support services. In FHHs, women receive such services to a lesser extent than men.

Although the problem of limited resources, access to sizable land, low level of literacy, knowledge and skill, limited access to productive inputs, finance, technologies, market information and extension services, are not peculiar to women farmers only; the extent to which women farmers are constrained by these factors in agriculture value chains is much higher than their male counterpart farmers. Consequently, women have lower participation levels in the production of high-value crops.

5.5.3 Gender differences in productivity and economic empowerment

The study assessed household productivity of the main crops in the last production years (2015 to 2017). It was found out that for all the main crops, MHHs have scored higher productivity of quintals per hectare for the years indicated in Table 5.7.

Table 5.13: Assessment of the productivity of main crops by gender (quintal/hectares)

year	Wheat		Barley		Pulses		Vegetable	
	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
2015	40.0	30.0	36.3	28.0	22.5	16.6	54.5	41.4
2016	38.0	27.5	37.0	25.0	24.0	15.0	62.5	45.0
2017	42.0	30.0	35.7	25.5	26.0	18.0	60.9	45.0

Source: computed from the respondents data 2018

Differences in household productivity between male-headed and FHHs can be related with the differences in access to productive inputs and support services between the households. Limited access to productive inputs such as seeds, and chemical fertilizer as well as production support services will affect the productivity of the farm activities of FHHs. Added to this, the problem of limited access to market and market information, labour shortage and other institutional constraints are also the main cause for the low productivity of FHHs.

Market-related constraints such as differential access to land/labour/finance and Institutional constraints related to informal institutions such as social norms and formal

institutions such as biased laws and regulations are the main factors that limit the productivity of FHHs (World Bank 2012).

During focus group discussions, it was suggested that FHHs usually face the problem of labour shortages, leaving them unable to effectively engage in grain production, which involves using an oxen plough which is culturally considered as men's activity. In such case when there is no a Son or any other relative to perform man's activities, women are left with various choices which will eventually affect their farm income. They may choose to use share cropping with other male farmers that could contribute labour, or rent their lands to male farmers particularly if they are poorer households, or hire man's labour to perform such activities. In some places there is a possibility to rent tractor service for ploughing land though this can be expensive for many women.

Evidence from other African countries reveals that differences in productivity per unit area of land between men and women farmers attributes to the difference in the amount of labour and other resources used per plot. Women-controlled plots usually receive less amount of labour and other inputs and consequently produce less amount of yields than men-controlled plot (Githiji et al 2014:104).

In this study as shown in Table 5.7, it was found out that for the main crops -wheat, barley, pulses crop, and vegetables (potato and onion), MHHs produced 30 to 60 percent higher yields than FHHs. Hence in all the three production years observed 2015 to 2017, overage, women farmers have lower productivity than men farmers.

The lower productivity per unit area of women controlled farms together with the lower access to productive market has resulted in low earnings for women farmers. For instance, potato and onion producers women indicated that they don't get good prices for their produce and they often experienced less profitable market situations where most profit goes to the middlemen or brokers. This is because women farmers have more time constraints, mobility restrictions imposed by cultural norms, limited access to market information and low experience of market exposure as it was explained during discussion with the key informants (in Lode Hetosa District Office)

> "*Compared with men farmers, women farmers often obtain lower amount of yield from the same size of plot. This is because most of us don't afford to use certified seeds and apply more chemical fertilizer according to the advice of the extension agents. Women don't usually use the recommended amount of herbicides and pesticide chemicals due to the fact that these chemicals are often out-of-reach for women who*

have usually less contact with suppliers and even when these chemicals are available they are unaffordable for most of the women farmers. There is possibility for women to sell their produce in lower price than men's produce. This is because first, women don't have much time to visit and talk to the potential buyers about their harvest as they are often busy with other domestic commitments; second, they don't get reliable market information since they have limited contact with agencies such as agriculture office and cooperative organization partly because they are less mobile than men due to cultural imposition on their mobility; third, women are not socially empowered to independently negotiate the price of their produce or make contractual agreement with buyers/ processors as men farmers usually do; *fourth, women have low level of education and experience than men, and therefore they have limited knowledge and skills on how to apply some production techniques and inputs as well as dealing with market*."

From in-depth interviews, it was evidenced that women's perceptions on traditional gender roles might contribute to the difference in productivity and earnings between men and women farmers. One of the women interviewees explained her view on how differences in household productivity are justified.

"*As we women are better than men in performing domestic household activities such as cooking, cleaning, caring for children and family, men are also good in performing agricultural production activities and seeking better market for their harvests than women and hence they often produce more yields and earn more income than women.*"

Evidence also suggested that the traditional gender roles of women and images "may influence women's perceptions of their abilities and undermine their self-efficacy and potential (World Bank 2012:204). In addition to the influence of the traditional gender roles perceptions of women, the response of the respondent implies that the fact that women devote the majority of their times to the household reproduction activities will explain why women controlled farms are less productive than men controlled farms.

Therefore, as Zekeria (2017:142) noted, gender differential in the productivity of market-oriented crops and earnings, that could undermine the attainment of Sustainable Development Goals of eradicating poverty and achieving sustainable economic development growth, will continue to exist unless gender-sensitive agricultural policies and targeted programmes are adopted and implemented. It is the responsibility of the state to expand social and economic opportunities for women in its commitment to human rights of women (Asian Development Bank 2013:1).

Due to differences in productivity and access to market and market information between FHHs and MHHs, women farmers generally obtain lower income from their farm business than men farmers. For instance, women sell their produces mostly in the local market due to limited mobility, time constraints, and lack of access to infrastructure and networks they earn low income from their produces. Consequently, as depicted in Table 5.8 and 5.9 in Arsi Zone in general and in the study districts in particular, the proportion of FHHs in both high- and middle-income household categories has remained very low. This is because as similar studies also suggested that in Ethiopia women held the distinct disadvantage positions in many ways than men. They have less access to resources to respond to market signals, they are exposed to intra-household inequality of gender that has an effect on their bargaining power outside home and they are less targeted by research and development programmes than men farmers (Aguiler et al 2014, Abebe et al 2016).

In both vegetable and dairy value chains it was found out that male and female employees mostly receive the same wage for doing similar activities, however men often engage in the activities where better wages are paid, while women engage in the activities that pays minimum wage, as a result, woman earn less income from their employment in value chain than men. Therefore, addressing gender inequality at all levels is required to boost agricultural growth and household income that contribute to the reduction of poverty and attain household food security.

Table 5.14: Number of progressive high-income farmers identified in the last three production years in the study districts and in the whole Arsi Zone by gender

Year	Tiyo				Lode Hetosa				Lemu Bilbilo				Arsi			
	MHHs		FHHs		MHHs		FHHs		MHHs		FHHs		MHHs		FHHs	
	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%
2015	4227	95.3	208	4.7	3861	94.0	247	6.0	5020	85.8	833	14.2	76475	91.2	7378	8.8
2016	4270	95.2	216	4.8	3904	93.9	255	6.1	5063	85.8	841	14.2	77507	91.1	7559	8.9
2017	4355	94.5	253	5.5	3980	93.4	280	6.6	5300	86.0	865	14.0	79036	91.2	7620	8.8

Source: Computed from Arsi Zone agriculture office data

Table 5.15: Number of middle-income farmers identified in the last three production years in the study districts and in the whole Arsi Zone by gender

Year	Tiyo				Lode Hetosa				Lemu Bilbilo				Arsi			
	MHHs		FHHs		MHHs		FHHs		MHHs		FHHs		MHHs		FHHs	
	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%
2015	6125	81	1390	19	9947	83	2024	17	10985	86	1700	14	200296	87	28584	13
2016	6334	80	1586	20	10102	79	2752	21	12468	88	1788	12	208123	87	30980	13
2017	6453	80	1652	20	10987	80	2800	20	11848	85	2144	15	210384	86	33953	14

Source: Computed from Arsi Zone agriculture office data 2018

Most FHHs were in the low-income household category while most MHHs were in the high- and middle-income categories. Therefore, there is a high incidence of poverty for FHHs than MHHs. Previous studies reveal that FHHs are more likely to live in absolute poverty than MHHs, due to the economic and social risks they face which are influenced by the gender dynamics (Jones, Tafere & Woldehanna 2010:6).

Most women involved in both dairy and vegetable value chains perceived that they are economically better off than most non-participant women and hence most of them categorized themselves as middle-income households. Therefore, dairy and vegetable value chains have met the social objective of the value chain development in translating economic growth into higher income for poor households who are engaged in value chain activities as producers, processors, retailers, and employees. Value chain participants have achieved various economic empowerments, as shown in figure 5.3 below.

The majority of the respondents believe that as a result of participation in value chains they have achieved economic empowerments in many ways in terms increased productivity, rises of household income, increased access to productive inputs and uses, increased access to information, acquisition of knowledge, skills and experiences, and better access to loan and credit services as well as productive markets.

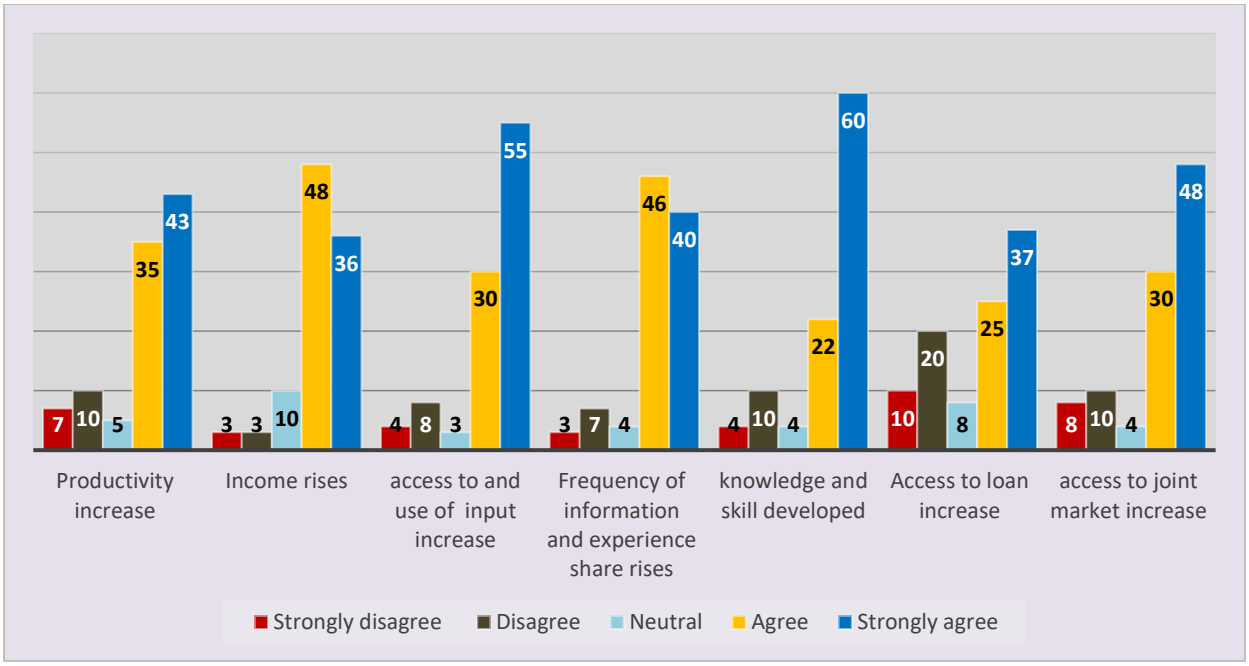


Figure 5.3: Assessment of respondent perceptions of economic empowerment (in percentage) as a result of participation in value chains

Source: computed from field data 2018

The majority of the respondents believe that as a result of participation in value chains they have achieved economic empowerments in many ways in terms increased productivity, rises of household income, increased access to productive inputs and uses, increased access to information, acquisition of knowledge, skills and experiences, and better access to loan and credit services as well as productive markets.

However, from in-depth interviews, it was observed that the economic empowerment level was varied among the households based on level of education, economic status, and gender. For instance, the analysis from in-depth interviews reveals that women farmers are disadvantaged compared to men in terms of access to productive resources such as land, inputs, finance, mechanization and other farm implements. Women farmers are also less targeted by research and development services that offer capacity development services such as training and skill development services and provide equipment and technologies. Moreover, due to traditional barriers women also lack agency[10] and power[11]. Power and agency as explained in FAO (2016) are important dimensions in women economic empowerment.

In this study, it was observed that women have benefited more from the value chain and they are economically more empowered where women-only group are involved in the chain as producer or processor or marketing group. For instance, in Lode Hetosa district, women-only group engaged in vegetable production and marketing are economically more empowered in terms of income rises, access and use of different services and control over the benefits. In this type of group, women take all the positions supposed to be held traditionally by men and exercise their authority to control value chain operations and benefits.

The lack of power to make own decisions and exercise control over resources and benefits could affect women's economic gain and their performance due to the restriction imposed by the cultural norms and practices.

This situation was explained in greater detail by the respondents during the interviews.

> *A single mother and head of household in her late 30, who participated in vegetable value chain as producer said that being member of vegetable grower, I have gained many benefits such as I got better access to improved seeds and chemicals. I also get good access to market through vegetable grower association. The problem with single mother woman was that most*

[10] "Agency refers to the ability to make autonomous choices and transform those choices into desired outcomes" (FAO 2016:20)

[11] Power involves "the ability to exercise the agency" (FAO 2016:20)

of us are poor. Though we have equal access to inputs most of us don't have money to buy all the necessary inputs as improved seeds and chemicals are too expensive for us to afford. For some of the farming activities I must rely on man's labour as I can not do it by my own. If you don't have a Son who can do ploughing, spraying chemicals and related physically demanding activities, you need to either hire a man or engaged in share cropping that eventually will affect your income. Therefore, participating in value chain, cannot make me equal beneficiaries from the value chain with men because we single women have many problems to deal with as woman at home as well as head of the household outside the home.

Here it is clearly indicated that the agency and power of women was constrained by the lack of resources. Therefore, economic empowerment is paramount to exercise agency and control benefits. Another woman explained the situation of other categories of rural women in Ethiopia who are engaged in agriculture under MHHs.

A woman in her late forties said that I participate in dairy value chain by regularly supplying milk to dairy cooperative in Bekoji. My husband is official member of dairy cooperative and I am not registered member of the dairy cooperative. I do perform almost all the dairy activities such as, preparing feed for cows, feeding cows, milking, cleaning cow sheds, and delivering milk to the milk processing and marketing points. However, my husband who only engage in a few activities of dairy production such as bringing animal feeds, construction and maintaining of animal shed and taking animal to the veterinary service clinic, is a regular member of dairy cooperative value chain. Being head of the household, my husband is responsible person for every decision made concerning dairy production including income control and I don't have that right in his presence according to our culture. Though most of the activities are performed by me, I never participated on any training, and other meetings because I am not member. I can do that in his absence. But I sometimes think that it would have been better if I participate on the training as I do most of the activities

From the response of the woman in a MHH, one can easily observe that systems constrained and blocked women's agency and power.

Another interesting observation came from group interviews; most women in MHHs who participated in the value chain mentioned that traditionally most milk and milk product-related income was used to be controlled by women. However, as the dairy business has improved and become commercialized, men have started to takeover the responsibility to control the income generated from dairy farms though women still perform most of the dairy activities than men. The responsibility and power to control over the income from vegetable

production which was traditionally considered as women's business is now transferred under the men's control as business has become more lucrative.

This implies that value chain operation can negatively affect rural women if value chain development is not attentive to the local context or gender sensitive. Evidence from other sources also suggested that in value chain operation women are more disadvantaged than men. For instance, participation in value chain has increased the workload of women as a result of the demand to comply with certification requirements and the need to product and process upgrading (Riisgaard et al 2010:23).

5.6 Assessment of decent work in value chains

Within the wider market system operation, value chain development needs to promote decent work as commitment to fulfill requirements of labour legislation, government regulations, quality standard, informal norms and values, and customary rules of the behaviour of what is good, fair and just (ILO 2015).

Decent work entails what people aspire from their work. These include the opportunity for productive work that deliver fair income, provision of social security and security at work place, possibility to be organized and participate in social dialogue, equal opportunity and treatment for men and women and provision of prospects for personal development and profession (ILO 2015).

This study tried to assess decent work measures in vegetable and dairy value chains based on the pillars adapted from the ILO framework that include equal opportunities for employment for men and women, provision of fair income and income security, enhancing of social integration, provision of better prospect for developing skills and become profession, improve safety and health of the worker at the workplace.

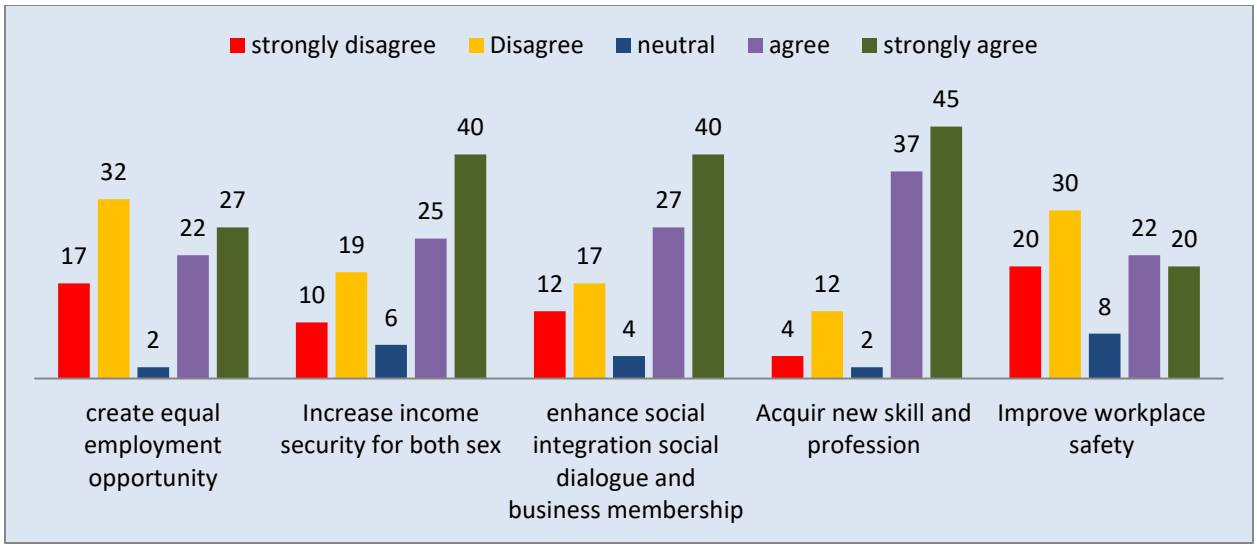


Figure 5.4: Assessment of respondents' perceptions in percentage on decent work measures (♀=40,♂=20)

Source: computed from field data

Assessment of the respondents' perceptions on the decent work measures shows that respondents have mixed feeling on each decent work pillar. It shows that almost 50 percent of the respondents believe that value chains provide equal employment opportunity for men and women while the remaining 50 percent believe value chains don't provide equal employment opportunity for men and women. The majority of the respondents have indicated that participation in value chain has increased household income and income security, enhance social integration and provided some prospects for professional development. Significant numbers of respondents believe that participation in the two value chains has not improved workplace safety and health of the workers. This implies that in the value chains, some participants work in unsafe working environment.

In-depth interviews and focus group discussions explored more of the detail of decent work deficits that exist in vegetable and dairy value chains. It was observed that value chain development has generally increased work opportunities for both male and female, however, it was indicated that in both value chains, most productive and profitable works of the value chains are controlled by men and as a result men earn more income from their participation in value chains than women do. Women often involved in value chains either as producers, or temporary informal employees which is hardly regulated and protected by the labour legislations. Therefore value chains barely provide income security and labour protections for most participant women. In addition to their obligations in a value chain enterprise women have roles to fulfill

reproductive and care responsibilities at home and social obligations in the community, which exacerbate their workload despite it not being counted and regulated under the labour legislations.

It was agreed that value chains enhance social integration of the participants in providing opportunities for access to social dialogues, business membership and cooperative organization. But it was noted that only heads of the households (MHHs and FHHs) can benefit from this social integration. Women in MHHs who actually participate in value chains are systematically excluded from having access to social dialogue and membership of cooperative and other business organizations. This is because in Ethiopia in general and in the study areas in particular, in MHHs only heads of the household (men) are considered as registered members of the farmer organization who are responsible to take part in most organizational and social affairs on behave of the household. Therefore, women in MHHs lack access to social dialogues and forums to protect their labour rights. Women of FHHs who have relative advantage of being member of business and cooperative organizations have less expertise and experience to effectively make meaningful contributions on social dialogue on gender equality in the workplace.

It was observed that both vegetable and dairy value chains provide better prospects for the development of new skills and professions for their participants. However, it was underscored that as women are over-represented in informal, self-employed and low pays activities of value chains; they have less prospect for professional development and learning new skills than men. Conversely value chains offers men better prospect for development of professions and acquiring new skills, for the fact that they have better access to skill development trainings, they are involved in more profitable node of the value chains and they have more time and freedom of mobility. Workplace safety, particularly for casual labourers working in vegetable value chain, was not well protected. For instance, chemicals are sprayed without safety equipment and weeding and harvesting is done with bare hands.

5.7 Conclusions

Participations in vegetable and dairy value chains were highly gendered. The involvement of men in value chains of both commodities was fairly distributed along the nodes of value chains from production to marketing, while women's involvement in value chains was highly concentrated primarily in production, simple processing and to a lesser extent in retailing activities. The gendered disparity of participation in value chains has important implications for the distributions of benefits and possession of power within the value chain. In all households with the exception of FHHs, the

authority to own household resources and control of income is in the hands of men. Similarly the gender relations in value chain governance reveal that most important decision making positions are held by men while the contribution of women is limited to conducting low-value activities in the downstream nodes of the value chains.

Analysis of the gender gap in value chains show that men own and use more resources such as land than women, due to socio-cultural, economic and labour requirement privileges they have over women. This study also showed that there are clear differences between men and women households in access to and use of productive inputs and technologies as well as market information. On average, women have low access to productive resources and use less amount of inputs and technologies due to gender differentials in access to information, economic capacity to afford the purchasing of inputs and technologies, restriction of mobility due to cultural effects and gender discriminations against women from development agencies.

The low level in access to productive inputs and support services, access to market and market information, labour shortage, and other institutional constraints of women households have attributed to the low level of productivity of their farm business. Besides, women's perceptions of traditional women's gender roles and their household domestic workload also contributed to the low level of productivity.

In assessment of decent work measures in value chains it was indicated that participation in value chain has increased household income and income security, enhanced social integration and provided some prospects for professional development, however regarding other decent work pillars such as protection of workplace safety and health of the workers, provision labour protections and work load regulations were minimal in value chains.

Generally, participation of women in value chains has increased income that women control and consequently they are found to be economically more empowered than nonparticipant women. The next chapter will assess women's empowerment in agricultural value chains at different levels and the restraining factors involved in the empowerment of women. This will be preceded by brief discussions on the empowerment dimensions and process.

CHAPTER 6
ASSESSMENT OF WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT IN AGRICULTURAL VALUE CHAINS

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has critically analyzed the gender equality in agricultural value chains in different aspects; the present chapter further analyses the effects of gender mainstreaming in agricultural value chains on women's empowerment and discusses the possible factors that limit the empowerment of women in the study areas. The concept of women empowerment is related to gender equality in the sense that women's empowerment could contribute to transforming the inequitable power relations between men and women.

6.2 Women's empowerment dimensions and process analysis in value chains

The concept of women's empowerment first emerged in women and development discourse in the mid-1980s (Tasli 2007:29). Development players have paid attention to women's empowerment in their development agenda and committed their resources to women. The empowering of women and girls also caught the interest of philanthropic section of international big business (Cornwall & Anyidoho 2010:144).

Empowerment is defined as"the processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make the choice acquire such ability" (Kabeer 1999:437). According to Kabeer (2005:14) this ability to make choices includes three interrelated dimensions: resources (material, human and social), agency (decision-making process, negotiations), and achievements (wellbeing outcomes). Of the three interrelated dimensions of empowerment, agency can be described as the individuals' ability or capacity to act independently and make their own free choices with limited influence from the existing social structure. When individuals develop such capacity they can perform activities in their best interest and decide on the matters that they deem to be important in their lives.

Women's empowerment is a process that includes elements such as consciousness, choices, resources, voice, agency and participation (Charmes & Wieringa 2003:423). Women's empowerment includes a process of increasing women's access to resources, economic opportunities, and political structures as well as developing their capacity to make decisions, ability to influence decisions and act on their needs (Rowlands 1995:102). Women's capacity to exercise their agency is influenced and framed by formal and informal institutions that can be explained as the manifestations of culture and social structure.

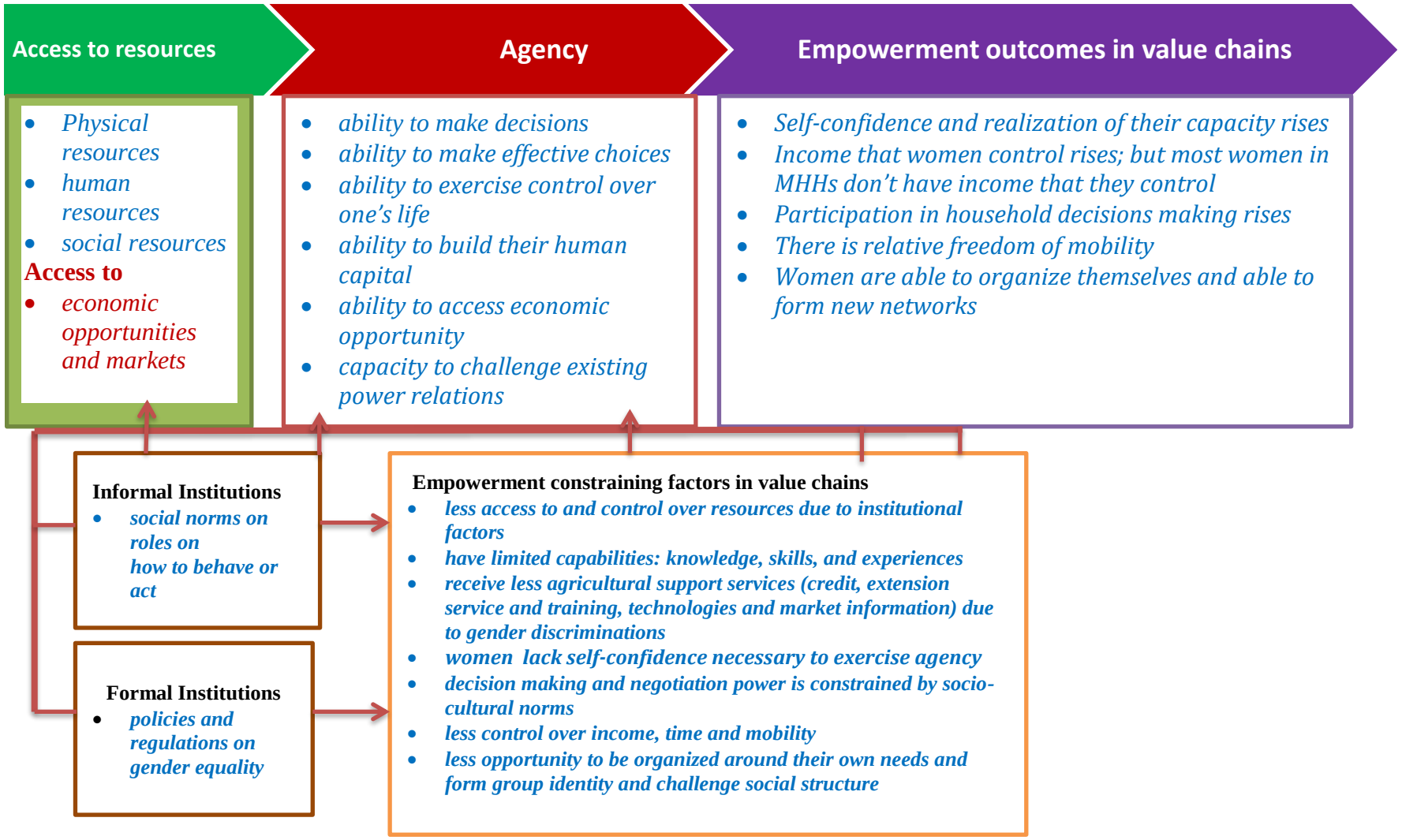


Figure 6.1: Analysis of women's empowerment dimensions and processes

Source: Analyzed from data based on literature

Improved access to and control over resources could play significant roles in enhancing women's economic capacity and thereby increase their bargaining power within the household and build their confidence to have a say in a wider community. In the study area, rural women have less access than their male counterparts to productive resources (land and capital), agricultural support services (productive inputs, and training and extension services) and technologies (improved varieties, postharvest technologies, and mechanizations). Formal and informal institutions determine individual's access to and use of resources and support services. For instance, in the study area, particularly in Arsi culture, women cannot claim land inheritance from their parents despite it being formally legal to do so; they often get access to land through their husbands. This has a negative implication on the bargaining power of women within households.

Most rural organizations such as cooperatives and farmer's associations offer agricultural support services to the head of the households and therefore women in MHHs are denied such services assuming that they could access such services through their husbands. One of the women stated the situation as follow:

> *Though I am the one who perform most dairy activities, I never participated on any training given by the cooperative promotion office and NGOs. My husband usually goes for the training not me, because I am not formal member of farmer organization, therefore I am not invited to participate.*

Women often have limited power and agency that are necessary to claim equal access to resources, equal benefits from economic opportunities and representation in rural institutions and organizations. This is because rural women are less aware of their rights and they have lower levels of human capital development (less educated) which otherwise would have increased the ability to exercise their agency and challenge existing social structure and norms. In addition to the social institutions which determine an individual's access to resources and power, women's level of consciousness and capability also influence their ability to exercise agency. In this study during interviews with individual women, it was observed that women with better levels of literacy and those women who have better exposure to the outside world are better able to exercise their agency within the household and in the community.

It was also seen that those women who have better access to resources and control over economic benefits have better agency to influence household decisions. For instance, most women respondents confirmed that their engagement in value chains has increased their economic contributions to the households. As a result they believe that they could have greater influence in

making decision within the household. A similar previous study indicated that access to and control over resources and benefits go hand in hand with ability to exercise power and agency (FAO 2016).

Focus group discussions with women revealed that participation in value chains enhanced their confidence and self-esteem by changing their attitude on how they view themselves through increased awareness-raising efforts and training on gender equality offered by development agencies. Moreover, the realisation of economic benefits and exposure to social and market networks also contributed to women's sense of self-confidence and self-esteem development.

Participation of women in the value chain fostered the opportunity to form new networks along the value chains where those women with common interests and visions can be organized and advocated their rights. The chairman of vegetable producer women group in Lode Hetosa commented that whenever anyone from the group faces gender discriminations like denial of access to land or income or encounters any domestic violence the group will cooperate to defend her in any possible way including reporting the matter to the police or Women's affairs in the district. In doing so they believe that awareness on gender equality and women's rights has risen among the group members and their leadership capacity is reasonably developed.

6.3 Women's empowerment assessment at different levels

Assessment of women's empowerment in vegetable and dairy value chains was conducted by focusing on the empowerment indicators at personal, close relationships and collective levels as perceived by the respondents.

Assessment of women's empowerment at different levels indicated that the majority of women participated in vegetable and dairy value chains are still in a low level of empowerment at all levels. The empowerment level of women within close relationships category of empowerment is low for most women.

Table 6.1: Women respondents' perceptions % on changes of selected empowerment indicators (N=40)

Empowerment at different levels	Empowerment indicators	Perception of women on empowerment indicators			
		No change at all	Changed but low	medium changes	High changes
Personal empowerment	Change experienced in self-confidence and self-esteem	0	45%	32%	23%
	Ability to formulate and express ideas and opinions	0	52%	43%	5%
	Ability to learn, analyze, and act	0	48%	37%	15%
	Ability organize own time	0	57%	33%	10%
Empowerment within close relationships	Control over childbearing	10%	33%	35%	22%
	Control over income	26%	38%	25%	11%
	Control over mobility and time use	30%	34%	24%	12%
	Capacity to make own choices	20%	38%	32%	10%
Collective empowerment	Become membership of the organizations	12%	26%	40%	22%
	Ability to negotiate with other organizations	18%	35%	28%	19%
	Ability to respond collectively to events	10%	18%	45%	27%

Source: Analyzed from field data and the indicators were adopted from Tasli 2007

However, data from in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and observations indicated that most women felt their empowerment at a personal level has somehow improved as a result of exposure they gained from participating in development activities and knowledge and skills acquired from capacity development training. One of the women respondents explained how she has become empowered as a result of participation in value chains.

> *I am raised in a culture that believes women are subordinate to men in many aspects. Therefore I used to believe that women's role is limited to care activities at home and women should not speak in front of men. After I started to participate in different activities of production and marketing vegetables outside home, my eyes are opened to see that we women can be educated and changed in the same way as men do. The only difference is that we don't have enough time to spend on learning new ideas and technologies. Therefore, by participating in production and marketing activities I believe that I gained more knowledge and skills not only on how to perform production and marketing activities but also on how to express ideas and opinions in front of people and how to negotiate with*

people and ask about my personal rights. Moreover, I was able to have an income that I can control by myself. Consequently all these have contributed to develop my self-confidence and wellbeing.

Relatively speaking women in FHHs are better empowered than women in MHHs, because women in FHHs at least have some form of access to and control over resources that includes physical material resources –land and other household assets and social resources such as being member of associations, participation in training and networking with local organizations. Moreover, women in FHHs have better agency to decide and act on their life choices with limited influence from other members of households. However, it is important to note that the social structure and institutions may suppress their agency to influence their other life choices such as mobility, equal access to resources, ability to negotiate and network with others, and capacity to influence group decisions in favor of their needs which negatively affected women's empowerment at all levels.

The empowerment level of women in MHHs is observed to be very low. They lack all the empowerment dimensions. They don't have the autonomy of access to and control over resources. Their voices in household decisions are subordinated. Evidence shows acquisition of resources enhances individual's capacity to exercise his/her agency (Kabeer 2005). From in-depth interviews with women in MHHs it was seen that women in this category considered themselves as fully dependent on their husbands. All the authorities are given to the head of households (men) and women are left with the household care obligations and remained dependent on men. Therefore their capacity to make strategic life a choice is limited as a result of the fact that most power in the household is exerted by men over women.

The intra-household imbalance of power between men and women and social norms generally affected women's capacity to make choices of the life they value most and transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes.

Table 6.2: Assessment of the extent to which women participate in decision making of the household activities in MHHs

Household activities	Extent of participation on each decision			Descriptions of the scenarios
	always	sometimes	Not at all	
What to produce	20%	25%	55%	In MHHs most women don't have voice to decide on what to produce and what type of inputs be used and how much.
What and how much inputs is used	15%	34%	51%	
What volume of vegetable output to sell	25%	42%	33%	In the majority of MHHs women are sometimes consulted on the amount of vegetable to be sold. But in a significant number of MHHs women don't have their say on what volume of outputs to be sold
What volume of outputs of dairy to sell	95%	5	0	Since most dairy activities are performed by women the decision on the amount of produce to sell is decided by women rather than men
Where to sell the outputs	15%	20%	65	Since most women in MHHs don't have much information on market; they don't participate in the decision of where to sell.
How to spend household income	30%	45%	25%	In one way or another most women are consulted at least sometimes on how to spend household income
Decisions on to acquire and use loans and credits	20%	32%	48%	Since credit and loan system requires the signatures of both husband and wife most women participate in the decision to acquire credit. But it was indicated in most cases the decision on how to use loans is vested in men
Decision on women's off-farm employment and mobility	45%	35%	20%	Women cannot decide by themselves to work outside homestead. They cannot stay away from home without their husband's consent
Decision on the number of children to bear	48%	37%	15%	In most cases, women are consulted on the number of children to bear
Decision on children schooling	25%	55%	20%	Although women can be consulted on children schooling issues the decision of where to be sent for schooling and how is in the hands of men.

Source: Computed form field data 2018

When we look at the assessment of gender relations in terms of women's decision making power, we can observe that their participation in the decisions of household matters is low. This is because they have either limited power to influence those decisions, or they don't have access to the decision-making process due to gender discriminations consequently, they are not empowered. As Rowland (1995), Oxaal and Baden (1997) suggested empowerment entails opening up of opportunities to access decision making by creating the ability of individuals to do so– *power-to*; opportunity to be

organized to achieve collective goals – *power-with*; understanding of the dynamic of operations between men and women and overcoming such operations – *power-over*; and building individual self-esteem, perceptions and the ability to act – *power-within.*

The empowerment level of women in both MHHs and FHHs observed in this study was low. The following constraining reasons were identified for the low level of empowerment of women.

1. In intra-household gender relations, women are subordinate to men due to socially accepted dominations of men over women – power-over.
2. Women generally have limited capacity and authority to make decisions and solve problems, this is mainly because they have limited opportunity in capacity development in leadership, in developing the ability and creative power that would have enhanced their decision making power – power-to, because they have limited skills and capacity to make the right life choices. For instance, Cole and Mitchel (2010) found out that lack of education disempowers rural women in limiting their ability of negotiations in the market place and public spheres, and limiting their capacity to hold management positions and bargain power.
3. The social sanctions that limit women's mobility and networking, the workloads they bear in the households and poor government institutional supports limited the possibility that women could effectively organize around their collective needs and defend their common rights – power-with.
4. In rural Arsi, girls are raised as subordinate to men, therefore from their experiences some women believed themselves to be incompetent and incapable. Consequently, their self-esteem and assertiveness is low due to the low level of awareness creations, and conscious raisings and building self-confidences – power within. It is argued that empowerment of women involves the motivation to challenge perceived unequal gender relations, which in turn depend on factors related to women's subjectivities, experiences and perceived risks of transformation (Charmes & Wieringa 2003). Besides, limited access to and control over material and social resources and low-level literacy, limited economic self-reliance inevitably affected women's self-esteem and their assertiveness.

Development agencies including government institutions and NGOs see the inclusion of women in rural development from economic point of view assuming that economic growth could automatically bring empowerment for women. But evidence shows that often time there is no such automatic relationship between economic growth and empowerment; it all depends "on specific

relations determined by gender, culture, class or caste" (Rowlands 1995:104). Development interventions give less emphasis on building women's problem-solving capacity and skills, transforming structures and institutions that perpetuate gender discriminations, and creating opportunities for women to organize themselves for achieving collective goals.

In value chains, the participation of women in knowledge and leadership skill development trainings is limited; they also seldom held decision making and resource control positions across the value chains. Moreover, women in general and women of MHHs in particular don't have the opportunity to organize themselves in a formal social group where they would have been organized around their common needs and develop capacity to claim their collective rights.

6.4 Factors that affect the empowerment level of women in the study areas

This study observed the level of women's empowerment in agricultural value chains varied depending on different scenarios in which women live.

6.4.1 Position of women within the household

Whether women are head of the household or not determines their empowerment level. Women who are heads of household are at least institutionally supported to access and claim resources such as material resources (land and other productive resources), social resource (membership of organization) and human and human capital resources (labour and capacity development training). They also have better autonomy of decision making power at the household level. But in MHHs women don't have access to and control over resources and their decision making power in the household is overruled by men. Similar earlier study reported that in Ethiopia despite FHHs may be poorer than women in MHHs; they have better access to resources than women in MHHs (Aregu, Bishop-Sambrook, Puskur, & Tesema 2010:9).

It is important to note that when we generally compare MHHs with FHHs, FHHs are generally poorer households. Because, compared to MHHs, FHHs are discriminated against accessing resources such as land; they have less access to productive inputs, credit services, and extension training and information services. However, some FHHs participated particularly in vegetable value chains demonstrated their competency to challenge the existing system and become competent and productive. For instance in '*Fursa' Women vegetable producer group* in Lode Hetosa district, Arsi Zone, all the activities from production to marketing is run by women members, who are voluntarily organized. With minimum supervision and technical support they receive from district cooperative promotion office, they perform all the activities of planning, management and controlling in the production and

marketing of vegetables. It was indicated that they autonomously control income and benefit generated. When women start acting on their own behalf, which shows that they acquired agency one of the dimensions of empowerment (Charmes & Wieringa 2003:421).

The fact that all members are women, they have the opportunity to openly discuss the grievances and problems individuals face. They have generally better awareness of the importance to challenge existing women subordinations and claiming their rights. Evidence reveals that when women make good networks among themselves and work together they become stronger (Kabeer 2005, Charmes & Wieringa 2003).

6.4.2 Economic status of the household

Generally, women from resource-poor households have less access to productive resources and hence they are not economically empowered. Most FHHs women were found to have low income than women in MHHs. Economic disempowerment conversely affects their ability to effectively exercise their agency in influencing decisions. In both focus group discussions and key informant interviews it was indicated that women who earn incomes and controls some assets that generate income are in better bargaining power position within the household to use their agency in influencing decisions. As Kabeer (2005, 2015) stated, agency is better exercised in a well of economic situation and resource possessions.

Moreover, resource poorness could also affect an individual's sense of motivation and building self-esteem. Therefore women in poor households are generally less empowered than women in well-off households.

6.4.3 Education level of women

From in-depth interviews, it was seen that women with better level of education have better voices in the household decision-making process. Some of them indicated that they have relatively better freedom of mobility to attend trainings and participate in agricultural trade activities in the remotest place from their residences. An interviewee 32, one of the women in MHHs explained her story during interview related to empowerment.

> *Since I am an educated woman, I know my rights well. I and my husband decide together in all matters. For instance we decide together on income spending, selling of assets, the number of children we bear and the time. There is nothing my husband could decide alone without my knowledge. As far as mobility is concerned as women I can travel to market places, to visit relatives; I cannot stay away*

overnight as my husband usually does. Culturally that is not acceptable so that as woman I have to respect that. It is also risky for women to travel far away from home.

We observed that education is one of the resources of empowerment dimensions that contribute to alleviate individuals' sense of ability to exercise their agency – power-to, and build the sprite of self-realisation – power-within. As Seebens (2011:6) puts education is one the widely used empowerment indicators, because it enhances the likelihood of women's adoption of technology and use and their access to market information.

6.4.4 Sociocultural and institutional factors

In focus group discussions and key informant interviews it was indicated that socio-cultural norms and beliefs reinforce the discrimination and subordination of women at different levels consequently, impede the empowerment of women. This can be explained in terms of gender division of labour, access to and control over the benefits and decision-making power at the household level; and ability to organize, positions held in the organizations, and capacity to influence in collective decisions at the community and public sphere levels. In societies, particularly traditional ones, social norms require men and women to adhere to certain rules and norms that determine what actions they take which in turn determine their status in the households and public sphere (Seebens 2011:6).

As it has already been reviewed, Arsi is a patriarchal society where the system of male dominance over females is well recognized. For instance restriction of mobility on women is accepted as normal. Women are also discriminated against the opportunity to develop new skills and organize themselves for collective actions and thereby challenge unequal gender relations.

In addition to the sociocultural norms in the study area of Arsi, particularly in the Muslim community, the reformist type of Islam imposes on the previously moderate and open society. It restricted the mobility of women, their communication and networking, their agency to challenge male dominance and hence their empowerment. Another empirical study also confirmed that there is negative association between Islam religion and women's empowerment while traditional African religion and Christianity have positive association with empowerment of women (Njoh & Akiwumi 2012:15)

We can see that generally women hold subordinate positions at household and state and social institutions levels, and they lack economic and human capital resources through which they critically exercise their agency to challenge existing gender relations. Empowerment process normally involves exposing the oppressive power of existing gender relations, identifying the means to critically challenge

this oppressive power at collective institutional and individual levels, and realizing and building different social relations (Charmes & Wieringa 2003:425).

Generally participation in the value chain has contributed to raise empowerment of women at micro or personal level in building individual's sense of dignity and motivation for taking actions, at meso-level where beliefs and actions in relations with others is transformed for instance power relation within the households and at macro-level where women's the positions and actions of women in wider society is regarded.

6.5 Women's empowerment effects

In chapter five we have seen that women as value chain participants add values at different stages of the value chains: input supply, production, processing, and marketing. However, women's empowerment involves more than just their participation in value chains and contributions in adding values to the products; it includes issues related to change in power relations within the households and value chain governance in relations to other actors in the value chains which can be explained in terms of gaining control over the value chain process and capacity to negotiate and hold stronger positions in value chains (Morioka & Nicholas 2014:3). Scholars suggested that it is difficult to establish causal linkage between women's empowerment and its positive effects as it requires more methodological sophistication and is often misleading (Seebens 2011, Hanmer & Klugman 2014). This study used qualitative inquiry to assess the effects of the empowerment of women.

Women's involvement in agriculture value chain has primarily lead to greater self-esteem. For instance women participated in vegetable growing and marketing, indicated that they believe, by participating in value chain they have acquired necessary skills and firsthand experiences that build their confidence and sense of capability to do things better than they used to be.

Women also believe that as a result of increased access to inputs, support services such as credit services, extension, training, and market information household productivity has increased which in turn contributed to ensure food security of the households.

Though there are variations among individuals depending on their level of educations, ages and institutional (cultural or religion) influences, relatively speaking women participated in value chains have developed their agency to claim their rights, use resources, influence household decisions and make their own life choices. The fact that participation in value chain developed women's economic empowerment and gave them the opportunity to have and incomes that they could control, has contributed to increase women's agency to influence household decisions and build their self-esteem.

Consequently it was indicated that in some households the decision making power of women on family matters within the household, on their private life such as mobility, and reproductive rights and freedom to organize.

The intra-household bargaining power of women is determined by their possession of resources such as economic resources, social resources (institutions that influence individual's perceptions), and human resources (education), and institutions (set the boundaries within which women and men interact and negotiate) and agency (ability to make own choices) (Kabeer 1999, 2005).

Participants in the value chains reflected that the incidence of experiencing domestic violence has significantly reduced due to the rise of the awareness of their rights and their capacity to defend their rights. Most women also believe in the gender equality and against the attitudes of family preference of son over daughter.

Focus group discussions confirmed that there are still many stereotypes that perpetuate the subordination of women by labeling them as incapable, weak, not confident, and inferior, many of them believe that if they are given the opportunity women are capable as men. From the exposure they got from participating in development activities, they recognize that the social system that perpetuates negative stereotype about women protected women from fully exercising their rights both in the households and community. They know that they have equal rights with men to access resources, but they indicated that in reality this is not the case. For instance, they mentioned that in Arsi culture, women are rarely allowed to inherit properties of their family. But most women are well aware of that they have the right to claim the properties of their parents according to Ethiopian family law.

Most women believe that participation in agricultural development including value chains has boosted their leadership capacity through the increased involvement in resource allocations, decision making, community affairs, and group meetings. Moreover, being members of producer group they are privileged to participate on some awareness raising trainings organized by the development agencies on different issues related to gender equality and women's rights.

> *There are some women who perform well than even most men in managing their farms from production to marketing and are influential in making women's voice heard in public gathering (one of the key informant interviewees).*

It was observed that women's empowerment and agency is constrained by women's economic dependency, lack of education and influence of social institutions. One of the women in MHHs described these constraining factors as follows.

I am well aware that men and women have equal rights in all matters concerning household. I also know that I have the right to decide for myself on what to do and where to go. But according the culture I have to obey my husband as he is primarily responsible for family provisions and resource control. All the land we have as a family is belongs to him, because he owned the land before I was married to him. I can only get portion of the land that I could control by myself if he marry other women or if he dies.

The above description implies that the intra-household bargaining power of women is influenced by the limited assets they brought to the marriage and societal norms. In Arsi tradition women bring limited assets to the marriage usually in the form of a gift of cattle from their parents. In key informant interviews it was explained that women have some power to control assets they brought to the marriage than the other household assets, which are usually controlled by men.

6.5 The possible disempowerment effects agricultural value chain intervention

In some cases, development interventions targeting women including value chains development programmes which do not consider existing reality of intra-household gender relations, has ended up in increasing the workload on women, consequently as a result of the programme intervention women are disempowered though the intervention was meant for empowerment. The situation that encountered women in the dairy value chain can demonstrate this well.

In 'Dosha' and 'Bekoji Akebabi' dairy cooperatives selected for this study, it was seen that most dairy production, processing, and marketing activities are performed by women. The relative expansion of smallholder dairy farm and the need to include dairy business in value chains has increased workloads on women. In addition to performing labour intensive dairy activities such as feeding, milking, cleaning and other similar activities around their homestead, on daily basis it requires women to travel five to ten kilometers a day to deliver milk to the cooperative marketing.

The most striking thing was that in both districts women in MHH were denied participation in most dairy development training, because in MHHs women are not considered as official member of farmer's organization targeted by development interventions. Since the Derg-regime (1974-1991) in Ethiopia rural development system, only heads of the households can be member farmer's association and have access to resources including land (Coles and Mitchel 2010:5). Women in MHHs can only have access to resources through their husbands as they are not considered official members of farmer's associations. Hence they are not qualified to receive most support services targeting members including capacity development programmes.

In addition to this, in dairy cooperatives women of MHHs did not have decision making power on dairy business and control of income generated from dairy. This was because in most households with the relative growth of dairy marketing, the role to control income generated from dairy business was transferred from women to men. Hence it is plausible to conclude that participation in the dairy value chain did not empower women of MHHs it rather disempowered them as they were denied access to and control over income resources and opportunity to use their agency and build their self-worth. This implies that gender mainstreaming in agriculture could downplay achieving gender equality and women's empowerment if institutional and structural issues at micro-levels such as intra-household gender roles are not well considered and properly targeted accordingly.

Scholars like Oxaal and Baden (1997) suggested that inclusion of women into development programmes without consideration of the existing institutional and structural issues doesn't necessarily promote the empowerment of women. It is not the integration of women into development programmes *per se*, but the context in which particular development programme is delivered is which is vital in ensuring that women's control over development intervention benefits and agency of decision-making power is increased (Oxaal & Baden 1997).

Women's involvements in agricultural production and marketing activities are institutionally encouraged; however there is no formal or informal institution that encourages men's involvement in domestic household care activities. Being they are submissive to cultural norms In Arsi, women take the responsibility to shoulder reproductive sphere as acceptable norm, which implies that it has some disempowerment effects on women by limiting their opportunities to participate in human capital development activities such as access to information, training, experience gaining and other capacity development activities. Women also mentioned that household reproductive workload limited women's participation in social networks and the role they would play in the community and development organizations. This is because the situation of time poverty they often face in the household doesn't encourage women to participate in other activities outside of the households.

For instance one of the key informant interviewees revealed how women's participation in the development programme is limited due to the time constraint they have.

> *Although many development agencies encourage the involvement of women in their development programme s or projects; most women hesitate to effectively participate in activities that require more time to spend such as regular meeting and traveling to remote places*

This indicates that by limiting their participation in the activities outside of the households, women's household reproductive roles workload could also jeopardize their leadership capacity development opportunity and personal development.

6.7 Conclusions

Women's empowerment in agricultural value chains is low because, as we have observed, women in the study areas generally lack the three interrelated dimensions of empowerment which Kabeer (1999, 2005) identified: resources (material, human and social), agency (decision-making process, negotiations), and achievements (wellbeing outcomes).

In the study area, rural women have less access to productive resources (land and capital), agricultural support services (productive inputs, and training and extension services) and technologies (improved varieties, postharvest technologies, and mechanizations). Formal and informal institutions determine individual's access to and use of resources and support services. Improved access to and control over resources could play significant roles in enhancing women's economic capacity and thereby increase their bargaining power within the household and build their confidence to have a say in a wider community.

Women have often limited power and agency that are necessary to claim equal access to resources, equal benefits from economic opportunities and representation in rural institutions and organizations. This is because rural women are less aware of their rights and they have a lower level of human capital development (less educated) which otherwise would have increased the ability to exercise their agency and challenge existing social structure and norms. Therefore in addition to the social institutions which determine individual's access to resources and power, the level of consciousness of women and their capability also influence the ability to exercise their agency. Generally women who have better level of literacy, better exposure to social and market networks, better access to resources and control of economic benefits are able to better exercise their agency to influence decisions within the household and community levels.

It is confirmed that the participation of women in value chains has generally contributed to raise their empowerment level by increasing their economic possession within the households and greater influence in making decision within the households and community. Moreover, it was observed that women's engagement in value chains has increased their exposure to the outside world through social and market networks building which in turn contributed to enhance their level of conscious on their rights and thereby develop their self- esteem to claim their rights and dignity.

There are many factors that have impeded equal power relations between men and women and the empowerment of women. The next chapter will discuss in detail by particularly zooming in possible socio-cultural and institutional factors in relation to gender equality in agricultural value chains.

CHAPTER 7
FACTORS AFFECTING GENDER EQUALITY IN AGRICULTURAL VALUE CHAINS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter provides analysis of socio-cultural and institutional factors in relation to the descriptions of gender equality in value chains. It also highlights how power relations between men and women within the value chains are perceived and how these perceptions affect the individual's capacity in value chain governance and decision making.

In the previous chapters, we have seen that men and women not only perform different roles in both vegetable and dairy value chains, but also have different access to resources and productive support services and have distinct levels of power to influence decision-making processes within the value chains. In both vegetable and dairy commodities participation at different nodes of the value chains is highly gendered. For instance, in the vegetable value chain, women dominated the production, processing, and small-scale retailing of fresh vegetable at the local market, while transportation, and profitable large-scale marketing and distribution is mainly controlled by men.

We have also seen that in dairy value chains, despite women playing most production, processing, and marketing roles, they are represented by men in dairy cooperatives who are responsible to receive different services such as training. There are various social, institutional and economic factors contributing to these variations. Respondents were asked to what extent they perceive that these factors have affected gender equality in general and their participation in value chains in particular.

7.2 Socio-cultural factors

Traditionally the people of Arsi can be categorized as patrilineal society. Patrilineal society is a society that traces male descent in the construction of kinship grouping, roles and relationships and the membership is inherited from father to son (Strassmann & Kurapati 2016:118). In rural Arsi, marriage is patrilocal. Patrilocal is the system in which the son stays and the daughter leaves. This means upon marriage, women should leave their biological family and live with their husband's parents or live in wider kinship of their husband's family (Landmann, Seitz & Steiner 2017:3). In Arsi traditions, marriage is usually arranged between different clans. In rural Arsi, a married woman often stays away from her parental home and often lives with or closer to her husband's family. In rural areas of Arsi although someone might live with his/her mother's parents, culturally he/she is often treated as an outsider for the wider kinship or clan of his/her mother.

Table 7.1: Perceptions of the respondents on the extent to which different factors affect gender equality and value chain participation (N=60)

Factors	Factor's variables	To what extent each factor affects gender equality and participation of women in value chains				
		No at all	To a little extent	To some extent	To great extent	To very great extent
Socio-cultural factors	Cultural norms on gender roles	0%	4%	20%	25%	51%
	Religion	11%	17%	22%	30%	20%
	Restriction on mobility	9%	17%	23%	32%	19%
	Household responsibility	4%	7%	11%	26	52%
	Gender violence	0%	40%	25%	19%	16%
Socio-economic factors	Level of education	0%	8%	15%	22%	55%
	Household head ship	8%	24%	30%	20%	18%
	Access to land	4%	12%	23%	35%	26%
	Access to credit	18%	20%	26%	23%	13%
	Access to training and extension	0%	12%	23%	25%	40%
Institutional factors	Gender policy	0%	8%	20%	32%	40%
	Agricultural market policy	20%	30%	22%	17%	11%
	Limited infrastructure	0%	11%	18%	33%	38%

Source: computed from field data 2018

The children of married couples count their lineage through their father's descent. In Arsi traditions all the children belong to their fathers' kinship group and the membership is transferred from father to son. In a patrilineal kinship system, women are discriminated against in many ways. Discussions with both men and women reveal that most resources including land and other properties are transferred from father to sons and women often get fewer amounts of resource inheritances from their parents mostly in the form of gift. Despite the Ethiopian rules and law allow equal opportunity to inherit parental properties; in practice social norms often impose restrictions on women take this advantage. According to the tradition it is believed that once a woman is married her legitimate access to parental resources is effectively lost and their access to resources begins to build along the marriage.

In patrilineal society like Arsi, there is obvious distinction between values of sons and daughters to their parents. In in-depth interviews it was indicated that most parents including women prefer to have son over daughter. Different reasons were given for the preferences of sons over daughters. The first reason was related to the patrilineal and patrilocal system. In these systems it is regarded as better to invest in sons than in daughters as sons remain with their parents and investing in daughters is

considered as investing in another family's benefits. The labour contribution of sons is highly valued over daughters' in predominantly plough-based agriculture. Similar with other related studies conducted in Afric,a the motive of son's preference over daughters in Arsi is related to assumption of considering sons as old age and widowhood insurances (Rossi & Rouanet 2015). One of the interviewees mentioned she regarded her sons as guarantees for her to remain with her family-in-law and control her husband's properties in his absence. In the same vain it was indicated that widows who have sons are more likely to inherit their husband's properties than those widows who don't have sons. Focus group in Lode Hetosa stated that, widows in rural areas who don't have children particularly sons might lose at least some portions of the resources previously controlled with their husbands particularly if they don't take the case to the court. This implies that in rural Arsi women's pre and post-marriage accessibility to resources is highly affected by cultural traditions and perceptions.

Despite women in most areas of Ethiopia in general and in Arsi in particular participate in almost all the phases of agricultural value chains in the form of unpaid work for the households, there is a common social perception that associates women with domestic household activities and men with productive agricultural and marketing field activities. The demarcation of the gender division of labour underplays women's contribution in agricultural production and marketing.

The fact that gendered stereotype that accepts women's domestic roles as culturally desirable social norms in which women need to excel their women-hoods, contributed to restrict their participation in value chains activities outside home due to the workload of household duties that consume their time. One of the interviewees from Dugda Okolu village explained this in her own words as follows:

> *Sometimes women including myself refuse to participate in activities that require us to stay away far from home for a day or more, due to our major domestic responsibility to bear on daily basis. For instance, there were occasions on which I refused to go for the trainings or meetings for which I was selected to participate in the district capital where I had to spend a few days. I did so because no one including my husband could take over my household responsibilities on my behalf since I don't have grown daughter that could help with.*

This implies that without considering the existing gender roles it is difficult to effectively include women in development endeavors including value chains which require women to engage in production, processing and marketing activities. This could only be achieved through designing the strategy on how to do that within the existing social system. Empirical research conducted in this area

reveals that there is a trend to treat gender equality discourse as a way to ensure sameness between men and women by focusing mainly on changing gender division of labour—women plough and men work at home (Ostebo 2016).

Although some respondents, mostly men, believe that there are changes in this regards; many women respondents believe that cultural and religious beliefs and practices in Arsi still restrict women's movement away from home and their interactions with men in the market places. For instance in vegetable value chains most women sell their produce to local collectors at farm gate with lower price, while most men producers sell their produce in zonal or even central market places with better price through their market networks. Women indicated that they get most market information from men and they often rely on men's market network to sell their produce at a better price. Besides, most market agents, traders, wholesalers, and transporters are men and women found it difficult to effectively interact with these agencies and make good market deals and negotiations due to the influence of cultural and religious beliefs and practices.

From the individual interviews and group discussion it was observed that perceptions on gendered physical attribute also affect how women and men participate in different activities in value chains. In Arsi culture women are not allowed to perform oxen plough since it is perceived to be heavy task for women to perform. Similarly agricultural trade activities that involve loading and unloading of larger volume of vegetable produce found be difficult task for women to perform. In addition to the cultural and religious related restriction on mobility of women; participation of women in marketing activities in value chains is limited by the risks associated with traveling longer distances that could place women's safety in danger such as sexual violence and thefts. It was also mentioned that women don't have much experiences to deal with urban exploitative trading practices and in most cases they sell their produce to the local brokers who often take advantage of the price differences. Perception on gendered power in accessing, owning and controlling of resources and benefits also affect gender equality within the household and community.

7.3 Socio-economic factors

In rural Arsi, generally men have higher levels of literacy than women. Group discussions in different sites revealed low level of education restricts women's participation in value chains in general and in value chain governance and holding decision- making position in particular. Consequently in both vegetable and dairy value chains most decision making positions are predominantly controlled by men and only a few numbers of women are members of management committee in value chains.

In all the three districts on average, women account for only 12% of the total management committee in value chains. Therefore they are largely underrepresented in most decision-making positions within the value chains. Most respondents, including men, agreed that the invisibility of women in public space including value chain governance is highly related to their low level of literacy. For instance it observed that in most training related to value chains the participation of women is less due to their low level of education to grasp some technical knowledge and skills.

Marital status of women can also be one of the factors observed in the participation of value chains. In FHHs the participation of women is supposedly high, but the limiting factor is that most women in FHHs are resource poor; they didn't have enough land and other productive resources including capital. They have less knowledge, skills and experiences than men on production and marketing. Due to constraining cultural factors on their mobility and interactions with men, they often fail to take advantage of getting good price for their produces. Some of them were participated in value chains as employees mostly as labourers during peak production seasons. But it is important to note that since women in FHHs automatically assume the status of heads of the households, they have direct access to and control of productive resources and inputs. They have the decision making power all along the production, processing, marketing and use of the incomes.

In MHHs the majority of value chain members were men particularly in vegetable value chains, despite women perform most production and processing activities. However, men control the overall production, processing and marketing activities as well as the income generated from the value chains. For instance, married women working in both vegetable and dairy value chains mentioned that once they sell they give the money to their husbands who have the authority to control over the income generated from the sale.

Respondents indicated that traditionally women control over the incomes mostly generated from growing vegetables at the backyard and small dairy products such as milk, and traditionally processed butter and cheese, however as value chains of these products have begun to develop and their market demands have risen, men started to take over the role to control income generated from these products. This implies that although the value chain could generally contribute to enhance household income; it could negatively affect the traditional position of women within the households.

In polygamous families older wives usually participate in value chain as labourers or producers or marketers independently with little influence from their husbands. Women in this group are not usually fully dependent on their husbands, both for the labour contributions and income.

In the Ethiopian rural land tenure system in general and in the study area in particular, heads of the households can only own land and become member of farmer's organizations. Therefore, only women in FHHs can own land and become an eligible member of farmer's organizations and married women in MHHs don't have direct access to land and they can access land only through their husband's tenure (see also Cole and Mitchel 2010). It was observed that the situation has negatively affected value chain participant married women; because in addition to their lack of access to land these women don't get inputs and they are not eligible to receive proper training and other support services as these services are often provided only to members of the farmer's organizations. As a married woman from Tiyo district explained it,

> *I work produce onions and potatoes on a piece of lands that my husband gave me. Since that I am not member of farmer organization I hardly receive inputs such as seeds, fertilizer and chemical pesticides particularly when there is limited supplies from cooperative organizations. My husband takes these limited inputs and uses them on the farms he controls as he has another younger wife. I don't also get any training opportunities because most training is offered to the members of farmer's associations.*

The study found that difference in access to resources between men and women contributes to separate influences in decision making processes and controlling of benefits. In group discussions and individual interviews it was revealed that women who own resources that they can control are in a better position in the household decision making process and have more power to control over the benefits. Therefore the lack of access to productive resources would negatively affect women's capacity to make decision in the household and their power to control over the household income.

Women have less access to productive inputs, credits, improved technologies, and market information due to gender related discriminations against women which arise from the influence of socio-cultural norms and practices, women's economic status and gender policy gaps. In addition to these, limited awareness on the adoption and use of inputs, credit services and technologies are also the main contributing factors for the low access and use of inputs, services and technologies by women. In key informant interviews and focus group discussions it was noted that farmers with better level of awareness and education (mostly men) have a greater chance to be targeted by development agencies for any development interventions and they are considered progressive. For instance, in Arsi it was observed that these progressive farmers have good contacts with development agents and they receive more support services and trainings than other ordinary farmers.

The finding of this study is in agreement with Cisco and Olungah (2016) who observed that compared to men, women receive and use fewer agricultural technologies and services. Some of the

main reasons this study has identified why women receive and use less amount of inputs and technologies are the following: the economic status of women is often low to afford the purchasing of inputs and improved technologies, women often have limited fixed assets to use for collateral in obtaining loan and credit services, in MHHs women don't have income that they can control and use for any purpose they want, they have time constraints to effectively use available technologies as they are often busy with household domestic activities, moreover their social status and network is low, so that they don't get up-to-date information on the merits of available inputs and technologies and their prices.

Most of these inputs, technologies, and services are provided through farmer-based organizations such as cooperative organizations and farmer's association. As we have already seen that most women particularly women in MHHs are not member of these organizations, therefore they don't get access to these inputs, services, and technologies. Evidence shows that farmer-based organizations have paramount importance in developing the capacity of member farmers by offering competitive advantages in terms of purchasing power, advocacy, and lobby and providing them technical advisory services which otherwise is costly for individual farmer (Etwire, Dogbe, Wirdu, Martey, Etwire, Owusu & Wahaga, 2013:41).

7.4 Institutional factors

In Ethiopia, policies on gender equality and legal reforms had limited impacts on deep-rooted local traditions that govern norms of gender relations, distribution of resources, property inheritances and individual's behaviour and agency (Kumar et al 2015). The gender policy discourse in Ethiopia is found to be state machinery reflecting autocratic control and hostility against civil society actors and most of its policy practice is fetched from a distorted form of socialist women's questions rhetoric (Basiwar 2008). This means the Derg regime within its military socialism ideology established The Revolutionary Ethiopia Women's Association (REWA) in July 1980. Although REWA has made contributions in organizing women for the first time at the grassroots level; it largely served as the instrument to implement the autocratic rule of the Derg regime (Burgess 2013:99). Moreover the Derg regime presented itself as the only agency to hold the agenda of women's emancipation and it did allow any other organizations of women (Basiwar 2008:405).

A study particularly conducted in Arsi confirmed in the implementation of gender machinery, gender experts and government officials were emphasized on the importance of changing gender division of labour (women should work in the field and men work at home) by viewing gender equality as sameness (Ostebo 2016).

In agreement with the work of Ostebo (2015, 2016), this study also confirmed that in patriarchal society like Arsi where cultural and traditional norms are highly deep-rooted, global policy on gender equality and women's rights better translate into local context through collaborative and mutual agreement dialogues at the grassroots level rather than focusing on altering the existing gender division of labour. Most respondents emphasized that policy intervention on gender equality is required mostly on insuring women's rights on their personal dignity, equal access to resources, inputs, education and equal treatment before the laws. For most of the respondents' gender division of labour is accepted as normal way of life needed to be followed based the customary laws. Many of the women respondents don't want men's interference in their domestic domain. They indicated that the domestic domain is the pride of womanhood. Men's respondent's also mentioned that although they need women's hands in many agricultural production activities they don't let women plough as this is not found acceptable in Arsi culture.

Although most women know that there is legal policy and law on how to settle these disputes, they found it unattainable due to the complexity of the procedures and unaffordability with their available time and resources. In Arsi most government officials including government assigned gender experts regard the gender issue as a vehicle to implement the political agenda of the existing political party EPDRF. In all the districts little efforts were done at the grassroots level to ensure the rights of individual women and hence in rural Arsi women are still treated as passive, incapable, and dependent.

Participants of key informant interviews comprising, district government officials, gender experts and development agents revealed that gender issues particularly related to the gender gaps in the critical areas of economic empowerment, access to education, training and health services, reproductive rights and violence against women are included in the districts development plan within the frame of the implementation of the so-called Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP). However, in all the three districts it was confirmed that the implementation of the gender equality action plan was so poor mainly due to lack of resources to effectively implement the plan at the village level.

Respondents were asked to rate the extents to which value chain participants believe that agricultural development policy and regulations have addressed constraints they faced in agricultural value chains, using a Likert scale of 1-5.

Table 7.2: Perceptions of respondents on the extent to which policy and Regulations address constraints they face in agricultural value chains

Extent	Men %	Women %
Not at all	0	23

To a lower extent	15	37
To a moderate extent	23	30
To a higher extent	42	10
To a very high extent	20	0

Source: computed from field data 2018

As indicated in Table 7.2 the data show that men and women have different views regarding agricultural development policy. The majority of male respondents believe that existing agricultural policy addresses the constraints they face in agricultural value chains. Contrarily, most women respondents believe that constraints they face in agricultural value chains were not well addressed by the existing agricultural development policy. This implies that agricultural development policy and regulations were designed in such a way that it could benefit men than women and therefore women still face many problems in agricultural value chains.

Respondents were also asked the extent to which they face different constraints related to lack of proper policy actions in agricultural value chains.

Table 7.3a: Women respondents' perceptions on the extent to which they face different constraints

Constraints in	Level extents in %					Problem level indices	Rank order
	Not at all	lower extent	moderate extent	higher extent	very high		
Access to land and land ownership	0	13	20	42	25	279	4
Access to productive inputs	5	18	25	30	22	246	6
Access to training, extension and technical information	0	12	22	40	26	280	3
Access to finance and credit services	18	24	23	20	15	190	11

Access to value-adding opportunities and technologies such as processing, packaging, storage, transportation	0	15	22	30	33	281	2
Access to market information and network	5	20	25	28	22	242	7
Access to cooperative participation and leadership	8	15	20	32	25	251	5
Access to infrastructures	12	18	28	24	18	218	10
Access to labour saving technologies	15	17	18	30	20	223	9
Shortage of time	0	5	18	32	45	317	1
Risk associated with mobility	12	17	25	20	26	231	8

Source: Computed from field data 2018

Table 7.3b: Men respondents' perceptions on the extent to which they face different constraints in value chains

Constraints in	Level extents in %					Problem level indices	Rank order
	Not at all	lower extent	moderate extent	higher extent	very high		
Access to land and land ownership	20	27	31	17	5	160	6
Access to productive inputs	17	25	35	18	5	169	5
Access to training, extension and technical information	22	23	27	15	13	174	3
Access to finance and credit services	18	27	23	20	12	181	2
Access to value-adding opportunities and technologies	15	25	30	20	10	185	1

such as processing, packaging, storage, transportation							
Access to market information and network	24	18	30	18	10	172	4
Access to cooperative participation and leadership	45	25	20	5	5	100	10
Access to infrastructures	33	28	24	15	0	121	8
Access to labour saving technologies	28	32	25	15	0	127	7
Shortage of time	38	24	28	10	0	110	9
Risk associated with mobility	58	34	8	0	0	50	11

Source: Computed from field data 2018

NB. Level of problem indices= very highx4 +highx3+moderatex2+lowerx1+not at allx0

As indicated in the above subsequent Tables 7.3a, and Table 7.3b, both men and women value chain participants faced different ranges of challenges that affect their productivity. However, this finding confirmed that the extent to which men and women are exposed to different challenges varies, which implies that access to resources, productive inputs, technologies, information, supporting services and infrastructures are found to be in general unfavorable to women. For instance according to the responses women rated shortage of time, lack of access to value-adding opportunities, limited access to training, extension and technical information and lack of access to resources and ownership, and limited access to cooperative participation and leadership as the most challenges they usually face in value chain. But one can observe that most male respondents found these constraints to be at the medium or low level.

Agricultural development policy fails to address the gender gaps in improving women's equal rights of access to resources, productive inputs, market information, and access of technology and infrastructures use. In value chains men face constraints which are mostly related to the low level of country's economic development such as limited access to value-adding opportunities and technologies as well as lack of access to finance and credit services.

The fact that most women particularly women in MHHs are not members of cooperative organizations and leadership has negatively affected their access to productive resources, technology, and infrastructure; access to market information and market for their goods, and access to information, knowledge and skills development. Therefore they have less opportunity to develop their entrepreneur skills, leadership, and decision-making capacity. Evidences show that efficient cooperatives have the capacity to empower women economically as well as socially in its equitable and inclusive business models which are more resilient to shock (Emana 2009, Woldu et al 2013).

This study also found out that comparing with men, women receive less training, extension services and technical advisory services from development agencies. According to the responses of the key informants this is mainly due to the gender biased policy and cultural constraints against women. They also mentioned that the prevalence of the low level of literacy rates among women, domestic responsibility or time constraints, restriction of mobility has made it difficult for development agencies to effectively reach women. This, in turn, has significantly affected women's access to value-adding opportunities (processing, storages, packaging, and transportation), technologies and market. In focus group discussions, it was mentioned that in rural areas, the prevalence of poor marketing infrastructures make it difficult for smallholder farmers in general and women in particular to sell their products in distant markets. Domestic workloads and mobility restrictions have constrained women from taking advantage of scant available infrastructures and technologies. Consequently, for instance most vegetable growers stated that they sell their produce to the local market in lower price due to lack of proper storage and transportation facilities.

Most market support services such as finance, trainings on business development and maintenance of product quality and standard, and market information targeted men rather than women due to agricultural development policy bias against women. This, in turn, is the result of the unfavorable attitude towards women's contributions in agricultural production and marketing particularly in cash crop production and marketing due to rigid gender division of labour that limit the contributions of women in agriculture to small-scale food production around their homestead and most market-oriented agricultural production are controlled by men. Therefore the available institutional supports and marketing system do not effectively address women's gender needs.

Table 7.4: Households access to training on production, processing, and marketing of vegetables and dairy

Sex of the respondents	Did you have access to receive extension and training on vegetable production, processing, and marketing?		Did you have access to receive extension and training on dairy production, processing, and marketing?	
	Response	**Percentage**		**Percentage**
Men in male-headed household	Yes	82	Yes	70
	No	18	No	30
Women in women-headed household	Yes	61	Yes	55
	No	39	No	45

Women in male-headed households	Yes	26	Yes	20
	No	74	N0	80

Source: computed from field data 2018

The result showed that in the production, processing and marketing of both commodities the majority of women in general have less access to extension service and trainings than men. For instance 82% of men in MHHs have access to extension and training while only 18% of women in MHHs have access to receive some forms of extension and training. In both commodities, women in FHHs have far better access of receiving such services than women in MHHs. For instance, 61% of FHHs in vegetable and 55% FHHs in dairy value chains indicated that they have access to receive extension and training while in MHHs the majorities 74% of women in vegetable and 80% of women in dairy have no any access to such services.

Women in MHHs barely received extension service and training in both commodities. As indicated in table 7.4 only 26% in vegetable value chain and 20% in dairy value chain have access to receive extension services and trainings. As we have already tried to explain in chapter five and six women in MHHs are institutionally kept out of the domain of the development targets for the simple reason that they are not officially members of farmer's associations to be eligible for such services. It was observed that in Arsi most capacity buildings targeting women meant for those women who are members of farmer's organization usually women of FHHs. Women in MHHs rarely targeted in such services.

Besides, women in this category are institutionally restricted to have full access to resources and ownership including land, because most resources are owned and controlled by the head of the households which in this case are men (husbands).

As we have already seen women face various economic and social related constraints than men to access value-adding opportunities and productive markets. For instance most women particularly FHHs are resource-poor farmers who could not afford to pay for services such as processing, storage and transportation services. Moreover, substantial domestic work burden and restriction on mobility also contributed to suppressing women from accessing market information and taking part in selling their products in distant markets.

In Arsi the existing gender policy hardly addresses the structural impediments to gender equality and achievement of women's rights. This was evinced by the fact that despite in all the districts selected for this study, the Gender Affair Offices are administratively operative; their contributions to address

the structural impediments to particularly rural women's participation in economic development is observed to be very minimal. Therefore in the study areas gender-based inequalities and discriminations along the value chains are persistent despite of gender policy decorative that described well the importance of gender equality on many development project documents in Ethiopia.

Equal access to the productive resources, technologies, and information services would play important roles in improving value chain performance and sustainable growth for agribusiness (International Finance Corporation 2016). Gender equality and women's empowerment is one of the seven-pillar strategies in the Growth and Transformation Plan; however, evidence reveals that the country is still lagging behind in achieving the goal of gender equality and women's empowerment (Ostebo 2016, UNDP 2016).

The researcher agrees with Biseswar (2008) that the Ethiopian government upholds the myth that the emancipations of women can only be achieved through their active participation in the government led-development programmes and state-controlled orders. This has contributed a lot to the distortion of many people's perceptions on the concept of emancipation of women and gender equality. It was observed that there is a tendency by many people to see gender issues as government propaganda to control people. The Women's Affairs Office in each district runs by the government cadres who are not usually gender professionals implement government controlling agenda.

The problem with gender policy in Ethiopia in general is the fact that it is perceived as the government agenda and it is not considered as women's agenda. The contribution of civil societies, women's led organizations and women's right activists is very low in gender policy framework design and implementations. Therefore gender policy so far fails to bear significant contributions to address structural barriers women's face in their everyday lives. For instance one of the informants from district gender office argued that

> *The policy that compels women's participation in cash crop production and marketing has exacerbated the workload of rural women because efforts were not made to alter the norms of gender division of labour and power relations at the household level.*

This implies that policy on gender equality in Ethiopia has given more emphasis on women's contributions in economic growth than ensuring their wellbeing. A related study confirmed that in the Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) of Ethiopia gender equality is translated and reduced into achieving of economic growth and reduction of poverty, assuming that the need for economic development and reduction of poverty are the major rationales for gender equality (Ostebo, 2015, Ostebo 2016). In the study area the dominating gender equality rhetoric as reflected by most district

administrative and gender experts was the roles women could play in economic development. In this process mainstreaming of gender in all development projects and programmes was seen as a strategy to enhance women's contributions in the economy. Therefore the social justice perspective rationale for gender equality and women's right is less salient among district gender experts and administrators of development agencies. As Cornwall and Rivas (2015:398) put in their critiques of MDGs, the instrumentalist rationale for gender equality and women's empowerment goal has failed to address issues of gendered power, by focusing only on the roles women play within the project. Moreover, the gender offices in each district where this study was conducted were highly under-resourced in terms of human capital, finance, and infrastructure for such vehicles to reach the majority of women in rural areas.

7.5 Conclusions

Participations at different nodes of both vegetables and dairy value chains are highly gendered due to the influences of sociocultural, economic, and institutional factors which determine what activities men and women perform, who owns and controls resources, who has better access to productive inputs and support services and who makes production and marketing decisions.

Accordingly, cultural norms on gender roles, household responsibilities, and influence of religion and restriction of mobility were found to be the most constraining variables attribute to socio-cultural factor. Perceptions of physical attributes of masculinity and femininity in performing certain activities, and exposing to gender related violence and market exploitations, and attitudes towards the power of gender relations within the household and community also contributed to gender inequality in value chains

The gendered variations in education level, access to training and extension, and access to resource particularly land ownership were the main socio-economic factors that affected gendered equality and participation of women in value chains. Generally in both vegetable and dairy value chains women received less institutional supports such as training and extensions than men. Moreover, in both commodities relatively women in FHHs have far better access to such services than women in MHHs.

Agricultural development policy has failed to address constraints that particularly women face in agricultural value chains such as household gender relations, access to value-adding opportunities and technologies, access to training, extensions and technical information and access to resource ownership and control. Therefore gender policy so far hardly bears significant contributions in addressing the structural barriers rural women's faced within the household and community levels.

This is mainly because, first, gender and development policy are focused more on the economic contributions of women instead of improving the situations of women particularly their wellbeing as instrumentalist rationale for gender equality could underplay the social justice perspective of gender equality and women's rights, second rural women are out of the reach of the existing policy due to the financial and human resource and infrastructures limitations.

Finally, by summarizing the chapters so far presented, the following chapter presents the concluding remarks and the recommendations of the study conducted over the last four years.

CHAPTER 8
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapters attempted to critically present the general theoretical frameworks of gender and development, the research approach used in this study, and the empirical findings of the study. This research takes the position of critical theory in qualitatively interrogating gender relations in agricultural value chains. Epistemologically, the critical paradigm involves critical engagements in assessing asymmetrical power relations and generating knowledge applicable to the empowerment of people and transformation of social life that makes it relevant to the critical theory for the study. In employing an ethnographic research method the thesis used information gathered through participant observation, structured and semi-structured interviews, in-depth interviews, key informant interviews, focus group discussion and document analysis. Using this information the thesis argues that socio-cultural norms, customary laws, and practices, the influence of the religion and weak gender policy have affected gender equality and the empowerment of women in agricultural value chains. In addition to social and institutional factors, the low level of material possessions/economy and low level of literacy significantly affected women's agency to bargain the gender equality and their empowerment. In light of the findings and discussions presented in the previous chapters, the present chapter serves to gives a brief recapitulation of the main research findings and conclusions of the thesis.

8.2 Gender and Development in Ethiopia

Despite some disputes over the claims of the double-digit economic growth in Ethiopia, many international development agencies including the World Bank and IMF agreed that in the last decade (2005 to 2016) the country exhibited one of the fastest-growing economies. However, with the rise of economic growth, the concern for equal distribution of benefits from the economy has risen (Hailemariam 2017) consequently, the gap of income inequality between the poor and the rich as well as between men and women has widened.

Along with the related work of Biseswar (2008), the findings of this study confirmed that within the context of patriarchal conservative society of Ethiopia, there were no active women's movements and feminism that has campaigned for women's rights, as was the case in many other African countries. Some women's associations, for instance, Young Women Christian Association and the Ethiopian Female Students Association of the 1970s and the 1990s, Ethiopian Women's Lawyers

Association are the only notable women's movements in Ethiopia that were short-lived before they were replaced by the state machinery of the time that were induced by the ruling parties.

State-operated gender and development policy of the 1980s Revolutionary Ethiopian Women Association of the Derg regime mainly served as state machinery to collect taxes, control people and consolidate power. The Women's Affairs Office (WAO) and later Ministry of Woman Affairs of the EPDRF, the current ruling party that has been active since 1995 to date, has mainly served the agenda of the ruling party like its predecessor. Therefore, the current policy on gender equality and women's rights implemented by the EPDRF ruling party has not made a significant contribution to addressing the real interests of women and emancipating them from socially, culturally, and institutionally embedded glitches. This is because most of these policies are not based on the real interests of women. They are rather imposed from the top with the aim of targeting the political agenda of ruling parties and as a means of drawing funds from international organizations.

The finding of this study agrees with Biseswar (2008) that the main problem with the gender policy and women's rights issues in Ethiopia is the gap between rhetoric and practice. There are well-decorated documents on gender policy and laws on women's rights available at all levels from national to the district level of the Office of Women's Affairs with no real practical impact on the emancipation of women apart from serving as a tool for controlling people and executing and implementing the agenda of the ruling party.

In Ethiopia the current gender and development discourse has been linked with the successive development plans called Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) I 2010-2015 and GTP II 2016-2020. In both development plans, women's issue together with youth and children issues were taken as cross-cutting issues that can be addressed through integrating the gender issues into the development policies, programmes and strategies with the aim of increasing women's participation and equity in the development and good governance processes. So far with the implementation of the GTP I, the political representation of women within parliament has significantly increased and the participation of women in the judiciary and executive bodies have improved.

Generally in Ethiopia in the last two decades 1998 – 2018, the gender gap in educational attainment has narrowed and the literacy level of women has significantly risen, as a result, the participation of women in social and economic activities as well as their representations in the politics has significantly increased. Although gender equality and the participation of women in economic sectors and politics have somehow improved in urban areas, the situation of rural women has remained unchanged in many aspects. This is reflected in the low level of education attainments

of rural women and the gender gap in the participation of the capacity development schemes of the agriculture and rural development programmes. The lack of advocacy and activism lobbying for the rural women's interests and supporting their leadership by effectively empowering them has made the rural women invisible in the policy environment. Therefore, the gendered structure continues to keep the rural women in disadvantaged positions and consequently, their empowerment level has not improved. This is contrary to the fact that in Ethiopia the gender issue is the focus of government's development programmes that attract international funds. Instead, the country still experiences the highest gender disparities particularly within its rural economy.

In Ethiopia's main source of the economy - the agricultural sector; women make huge contributions in either managing/undertaking the entire farming activities as head of the households or family labour contributors in male-headed households in performing most of the activities of agricultural production, processing, and marketing. However, most agricultural development interventions and strategies have failed to recognize the contributions of women in agricultural development. Their design and implementation have mostly targeted men as default head of the household without considering women's needs and their position within the household and society. Therefore, the current agricultural and rural development policies and strategies have not significantly improved the situations of rural women in the study area as their design and implementation are not gender-sensitive. The existing agricultural development policy interventions have largely failed to break the persistent socio-cultural and institutional barriers that could impact gender relations.

In the operation of agriculture and related activities, contrary to men, women often hold distinct disadvantaged positions in many ways such as in terms of access to and control over resources, access to productive inputs, improved technologies and market information. Compared with men, women in rural areas are less educated and have less access to skill training and other agricultural production, and marketing capacity development schemes.

Moreover, in addition to the fewer amounts of land they hold and control, women often use less plots of lands for farming activities than men due to the shortage of labor, financial capacity constraints and limited access to the available technologies and other support services. Furthermore, added to their household reproductive and community roles their engagement in agricultural production, processing, and marketing has made women to spend more hours a day on work than men. Therefore, all the distinct disadvantaged positions women held have contributed to limit their capacity to effectively engage in the production and marketing activities of commercial and high-value crops and livestock. There is no clear transformative policy and strategies in both GTP1 and GTP2

on how to reverse the disadvantaged position of rural women embedded in the overall complex socio-cultural and institutional functions and thereby ensure gender equality in the agriculture, and rural development.

8.3 The position of women in rural agrarian society of Ethiopia

Traditionally, Ethiopian women are often identified as reproductive subjects in the family— as mothers and home-makers. Despite having played significant roles in other areas of life such as community, economy, and politics, these contributions have not been well recognized in many cases. Some historical records of the women of the ruling families and nobilities accurately portray them as good warriors and good leaders; however, the histories of ordinary women have been all ignored.

In the past patriarchal state policy, women took subordinate positions in many ways and their contributions, particularly in the peasant classes, were largely valued for their reproductive roles. The subordinate positions of women were upheld and implemented in cultural practices, household dynamics, folklores, customs, and beliefs. Unfortunately, the varied and important roles women play in Ethiopian society have not always been recognized. Until recently (1980s), the literature on the status of women in relation to the agrarian society in Ethiopia was unavailable and hence the roles women play in the agrarian economy were largely invisible.

The oppressive gender relations enforced by state policy, socio-cultural norms, and religious practices still prevailed in Ethiopia in general and in the patriarchal society of Arsi in particular. However, in some respects gender power relation has changed over time along with socio-cultural, economic, and political transformation and consequently the status of women has relatively improved. For instance, in rural Arsi, the power of women in household gender relations have improved in terms of decision making and access to and control over resources, though the progress was constrained by some restrictive radical religious practices which have become barriers to gender parity in the study area. Added to this, the fact that most gender-related policy interventions from the 1980s to date are state machineries; they are not determined to change the lives of particularly rural women by altering unequal gender relations and transforming their status.

In the male-dominated plough-based agricultural system of the highland areas of Ethiopia, including Arsi Zone, women are perceived as less significant to economic power and they hold a subordinate social position; consequently they are highly marginalized in many aspects. This perception has widely been accepted and maintained among most communities including among

women. This is because the rigid gender roles in a plough-based agricultural system give most authorities and social status to men in owning and controlling farming enterprises and their activities..

The dominance of men in plough-based agriculture could partly be associated with the perceived physical labour requirements often associated with masculinity—pulling the plough to dig the ground and effectively controlling draught animals such as oxen. The tradition of the plough system has contributed to making women dependent on men's labour for most of the major plough-related activities. In this regard, it was evidenced that in the study areas, labour dependence is one of the main factors that force most female-headed households to either rent out their land to men or get into a sharecropping partnership with men farmers, though they more often own land than women in male-headed households. Moreover, in the plough tradition, the gender division of labour of women is highly associated with the domestic reproductive roles. Therefore, the major roles women play in agricultural production processing and marketing are invisible and are not well valued in this tradition. Although they participate in most agricultural production and marketing activities, women often take subordinate positions in agricultural entrepreneur development, value chain governance as well the in the household decision making process of using and controlling resources and benefits. In addition to the social and cultural norms and institutional barriers, the low level of education among women in the rural areas of Arsi has significantly contributed to the subordination of women both within the households and community at large.

There are no clear policies and regulations directed at combatting the reality of rigid gender roles and improve the gender gaps. Consequently, in a plough-based agricultural system, the existing agricultural development policy has done little to reverse the situation of women. Therefore like in most of the traditions of Ethiopia, women in the study area are still mainly identified as the reproductive subject in the family- as mothers and home-makers though they play significant roles in other areas of life such as the community, economy, and politics.

This study did not only look at the situations of women in FHHs – women who are the heads of the households and have more autonomous power over the household decision-making process and control of resources by virtue of their headship position, this study also observed the status of women in MHHs – women who are not heads of the household. The latter groups of women often don't have much power in the household decisions and control of the resources. It was noted that despite women in MHHs also actively engaged in the agricultural value chain activities particularly in commodities like vegetable production and dairy farming; they are largely neglected in most agricultural development policy intervention in Ethiopia. For instance, in dairy value chains though

the most value chain activities are performed by women in MHHs, most capacity development training opportunities were given to men by the virtue of their headship position.

Furthermore, women of MHHs often face challenges in obtaining some productive inputs and marketing support services from cooperative organization for the simple reason of not being a member of cooperative organizations on their own as their male partners are a formal member of the organization in the household who are eligible to receive support services from the cooperative organizations. In this regard, women who are heads of the households are in a better position at least to legally/formally negotiate their access to resources and support services through their household headship status regardless of the other gender-related constraints they also face.

It was observed that with the growth of agricultural commercialization and value chains development the participation of women in agricultural production and marketing in MHHs has increased in the study areas, however, they are often out of the realm of agricultural development policy interventions. This implies that though feminization of agriculture has evinced in the study areas, the rhetoric of male-dominated household headship has made their presence invisible and limited their potential contributions in agricultural development as well as restrained their personal wellbeing and empowerment level. This study found that in the course of the feminization of agriculture, where women have overtaken men in performing most of the agricultural activities previously performed by men, but gender mainstreaming and women support policy interventions have neglected women of MHHs who perform most of agricultural production and marketing activities particularly in vegetable production and dairy farming. Therefore, in an agrarian society, gender equality and women's empowerment could not be achieved without the development and policy interventions that could alter the situations of women in both FHHs and MHHs. This is because in the rural areas women are the participants of value chains either on their own headship status in FHHs or through their husband as married women status under men headship in MHHs. This is particularly relevant in Arsi where polygamy is common practice and women perform most activities on their own despite being under the male headship.

In agriculture and rural development policy in general and gender policy in particular, there is no policy, practice and strategy on how to deal with the local dynamics of gender relations. Except for some ad hoc interventions mainly from some NGOs working in the area, there is no intervention particularly targeting the challenges faced by married women in MHHs in the face of the feminization of agriculture and strengthening their position by empowering them. Therefore, in the study areas, the situations of most of the women particularly in MHHs who actually perform most of the agricultural

activities remain unchanged. This is because within the existing agricultural and rural development policies and strategies they are largely overlooked. This is witnessed by the fact that the improvement of dairy and vegetable value chain functions has not brought the desirable outcomes leading to women's empowerment particularly in MHHs due to complex socio-cultural barriers that restrict their participation, control over resources, and decision making within the households. This implies that the agricultural value chain interventions are not gender-sensitive in their approach. Therefore, they have largely failed to target the underlying gender dynamics within the households and the community that would have made the value chain interventions appropriate to the specific gender needs.

Altogether, the potential for the empowerment of women in MHHs and the transformation of their status has been hindered largely due to their economic dependency on men, which significantly reduces the bargaining power of women within the households. Moreover, the lack of autonomy to decide on their own affairs within the households that suppresses their capacity to exercise their agencies has also negatively affected women's empowerment and the transformation of the status of women in this group.

Women who are heads of households can be more autonomous in making the decisions within the households and controlling resources by virtue of their headship position than those women who are not heads of the households, however, they are generally in the relative social disadvantaged positions in terms of accessing public resources such as land, finance/credit services, productive inputs, agricultural technologies, and market information as a result of gender discriminations caused by social and cultural norms as well as institutional and structural barriers. Therefore along with other related studies (Chant 2008, Chant & Sweetman 2012), the finding of this study confirmed that FHHs are generally vulnerable to economic and social risks and hence they are more exposed to the incidence of poverty than MHHs. In addition to the burden of poverty and gender discrimination they shoulder, women-headed households face a distinct challenge of shortage of labour as a result of the absence of labour contributions from men which is believed to be vital in plough-based agriculture. Added to the burden of their household reproductive and community roles they bear, the need for the distinct men's labour contribution has affected the value chain outcomes of FHHs.

Female-headed household generally refers to a male-absent, female-led family structure (Buvinić & Gupta 1997); however, in the context of the study areas of the polygamous society of Arsi, it was observed that the female headship also applies to the woman that are registered as members of farmer's organization and have the autonomy to own and control resources such as land and assets of the respective household from the family where a man has more than one wife.

Despite the fact that in Arsi there are various socialization processes and practices such as patriarchy, polygamy, and the preference of a boy over a girl, that determine the gender roles as well as enforce the subordination of women, however, it is important to note that basically, in the culture of Arsi Oromo there are traditional institutions that protect the wellbeing of women.. However, nowadays in Arsi the practices of these traditions were suppressed as a result of the pressures from the religious institutions particularly the influence of the radical *Wahhabi* Islamic teaching widely spreading within the Arsi, which often discourages the dialogues between men and women and women's active participation in public spheres.

Most of the interventions on women and gender development would have been built on the already available cultural institutions such as *woyyuu, sinqee and hanfalaa lafa* that favour the wellbeing of women in society. If this were done, it would have contributed to improving the status of women in the study area. Unfortunately, this was not the case here as these valuable societal assets are neglected in the gender policy interventions.

8.4 Challenges of gender equality and women's empowerment in agricultural value chains

Ethiopia is one of the signatories of the many international conventions that deal with the elimination of avoiding gender discrimination and protection of women's rights. The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) has crafted different national policies and legal frameworks on promoting gender equality and protecting women's rights since the establishment of the national women's policy in 1993 which was later incorporated in the 1995 FDRE constitution (Woldemariam et al 2015).

However, this policy has limited effects on improving particularly the situation of rural women. This is because; there is a huge gap between rhetoric and practice in Ethiopian state crafted gender policy. As a result, as it was already mentioned the existing gender policy has not shown genuine commitments in addressing the socio-cultural, religious, and institutional problems that affect gender equality and women's empowerment. Instead, the gender policy and related legislative measures have mainly been used as a means of the controlling public and implementing the political agenda of the the ruling party. In Ethiopia, the government has shown autocratic tendencies and control in becoming hostile against rights-based civil society actors and movements (see also Biseswar 2008). In most cases, the government of Ethiopia has suppressed the rights-based development approach and movements. Moreover, in Ethiopia, it is common practice that many development agencies including NGOs include gender issues in their programmes or projects as an add-on to attract

funds from the international donor organizations with minimum practical effects of improving gender equality and the situations of women.

Evidence from the key informant interviews reveals the top-down approach is used in the implementation of the gender policy and related interventions on women's affairs with little consideration of the local variations in socio-cultural norms, demands, and the institutional capacity to implement. As a result, gender policy and interventions have failed to address the needs of rural women. For instance, in Arsi gender policy has failed to effectively break the patriarchal customary laws that constrain women's equal access to resources particularly access to land and related resources as a result of the prevailing traditional institutional bias against women. Rural women have a low level of consciousness and empowerment to claim their rights and effectively lead their emancipation. Moreover, most interventions on gender equality and women's empowerment were ad hoc and unrelated self-standing projects, which were mostly under-resourced and un-sustained.

Despite the government's efforts with the gender mainstreaming policy, in the emerging agricultural value chains development of the study areas, the participation of women in the value chains of the major cereal crops is low and their involvement is usually limited to certain functional nodes of the value chains. Women are often involved in activities related to the production and processing which are regarded as tedious activities of low value. Therefore, in agricultural value chains, most valuable nodes of the value chain functions are owned and controlled by men. Value chain development policy has so far failed to alter the inherent gender discriminatory practices and assumptions of marginalizing women in the production and marketing of the traditionally men controlled commodities. Hence, women are not benefiting from the value chains of these commodities due to the prevailing of limited opportunities available to them and the stereotypic gender roles that limit the participation of women to the lower node of the value chains which are often of low value and value chain's outcomes.

In Arsi, unlike in cereal cash crops where income generated is mostly owned and controlled by men; traditionally most income generated from dairy and vegetable productions are mainly owned and controlled by women. However, as these commodities have become more commercialized and linked to the productive market through the value chains and have become more profitable, the status of controlling the production processes and income generated from these commodities was transferred from women to men within the households. This is because the process of the commercialization of agriculture and development of value chains require greater access to the

productive resources, market information and improved technologies from which women are often excluded due to the persistent gender discrimination in these aspects.

Furthermore, the social norm that imposes the restriction of mobility on women has limited their opportunities to participate in the capacity development schemes. The restriction of mobility could also limit the opportunities of women to networking and connecting with people, gaining experience in the use of technologies, and accessing the potential market. This implies that any development interventions including value chain policies that are gender-blind could have unintended negative impacts on women in disempowering them. For instance, the finding of this study suggests that most important decisions concerning vegetable and dairy production and marketing as well as income control are currently made by men. This indicates that with the development of value chains, women have lost their traditional status of controlling and owning these commodities. The unintended outcome of value chain development intervention was the result of the lack of proper situation analysis of the existing reality on the ground particularly the lack of proper gender analysis that targets the underlying gender issues of the targeted beneficiaries. This, in turn, has resulted in improper value chain development planning and interventions with unintended negative outcomes on women that make their position even worse.

The finding of this study is in agreement with the finding of a similar study in Kenya (Fischer & Qaim 2012:441) which indicated that the commercialization of agriculture has disadvantaged women by increasing men's control over the commodities which were traditionally used to be controlled by women due to gender disparities in access to the productive resources. This implies that in the study area gender mainstreaming in agricultural value chains have failed to consider the dynamics of the gender power relations within the households and community. Consequently, the value chain intervention in the two commodities (vegetables and dairy) has brought disempowerment effects on women by downplaying their status and their decision making power in the production processes of the respective commodities and controlling income generated from these commodities.

This study concluded that various factors have contributed to the decline of women's control of agricultural commercialization. First, in the study area traditionally women tend to control food crops produced on small plots of land and the production of cash crops is considered as a men's domain. Second, the commercialization of agriculture mostly demands more technologies, physical and financial resources, labor as well as better knowledge and skills in which women are often disadvantaged due to their low level of socio-economic status. Third, restriction of mobility and the burden of the household reproductive roles have also contributed to limit their communication and

networking exposure with the outside world. Fourth is time poverty. For instance, it was observed that besides the social pressure on the mobility of women, in the study area, women still tend to dominate all the domestic and reproductive roles within the households in addition to their roles in agricultural production and marketing. Therefore, gender differences in the amount of time spent on household care responsibilities that stem from the gendered division of labour is one of the main factors that limit women's opportunities to participate in the agriculture value chain and obtain the potential benefits from it.

In the study area, generally, the participation of women in agricultural value chains are concentrated in the production node of the value chains performing low productivity jobs. However, it is important to note that, in dairy and vegetable value chains they are engaged in the entire value chain functions, more than men, though their presence was obscured particularly in MHHs where all the agricultural development intervention services are directed to men by the virtue of their household headship status. The women in this group are barely considered farmers and often neglected in the mainstreaming of agricultural value chains in general. The mainstreaming of gender in value chain requires thorough situation analyses that pre-inform the gender dynamics of the targeted population and unpack household members based on their gender roles and household headship status: FHHs, MHH, and women in MHHs. Understanding such dynamics would contribute to designing an effective value chain intervention strategy relevant to the specific desired objectives and outcomes.

It was observed that women who are heads of households also faced many barriers related to gender discrimination to enter in some value chains nodes such as marketing and value chain governances. This is because most women in this category are resource-poor farmers and usually held lower positions in the value chains as they have minimal power to influence the decisions in favor of their special gender needs and make their voices heard due to the low level of their social and political empowerment.

Women in FHHs are responsible for the entire productive and reproductive roles of the households. Similar to the study conducted by Arora (2014), this study concluded that the burden women often shoulder could not only affect the health and wellbeing of women but also, limit their efficiency in productivity. For instance in rural Arsi in addition to their commitments in value chains, women spend more hours in activities that could affect the efficiency of their productivity in traveling longer distance to undertake some other activities such as fetching water, collecting fuel-wood or dung, visiting grinding mill for flour making and taking dairy products to the milk processing and selling point. In addition to the limited access to resources and productive inputs, differences in gender

roles have made the position of women in agriculture value chain less favourable. Therefore, gender differences in time use which stem from the rigid gender division of labour/roles have contributed to gender segregation in the productivity of agricultural value chains and the value chains' outcomes that can be explained in terms women's empowerment and transformation of their status.

Based on responses from in-depth interviews, the study concluded that in value chains women in both FHHs and MHHs prefer to work on off-and-on basis rather than full-time engagement as men usually do. This is because women need flexible work arrangements to integrate them with their household reproductive care roles. Therefore, there is a tendency for women to avoid certain activities of the value chains that could affect the care and maintenance roles they bear in the household. Women mostly engage in agricultural value chains as casual employees, part-time workers, and family labour contributors.

Women of MHHs benefitted less from the existing value chain development opportunities. This is because women as casual labourers and contributors to family labour are out of the realm of the formal economy where household headship status is the primary criterion for being a member of the formal farming economy to whom all the development interventions are targeting.

In this regard, in the study area, women in male-headed households are not targeted beneficiaries of the development interventions, though they undertake most of the activities of the vegetable and dairy value chains. On the other hand, women in female-headed households are formal member of farmers' organizations through their household headship status; however their engagement in agricultural value chains is affected by various gender-related constraints such as s their commitments to the household reproductive and maintenance roles, low level of literacy, shortage of labour, lack of finance, and other socio-cultural related constraints such as restriction of mobility and societal attitudes towards the engagements of women in certain activities which are culturally considered men's roles. Therefore, women in both female and male-headed households are at a disadvantage in agriculture value chain as a result of a repressive system that limits their progress in many aspects.

With all the social and structural barriers women face, this study concludes that in dairy and vegetable value chains women are not inferior farmers and entrepreneurs than men; they are rather forerunners in most roles of the value chains of the two commodities. Participation in dairy and vegetable value chains has boosted the income that women control and increased their agency to influence decisions within the household and make their voice heard in the community and public spaces to some extent. However, skewed policies and programmes together with socio-cultural and

economic barriers have made their progression slow in the value chains. It is clear that although the feminization of agriculture, at least in the dairy and vegetable sectors, has become a common phenomenon, the lack of policies and strategies redressing the persistent gender imbalance has resulted in women benefiting less from the value chains of these commodities.

8.5 Concluding remarks

The study concludes that gender inequalities in access to and use of resources, productive inputs, agricultural support services and decent works have prevailed due to the socio-cultural and institutional barriers that constrain women's equal access to those resources and services. In the study area the agricultural value chain development program has largely neglected the gender perspectives mainly due to the rhetoric of male-dominated household headship that obscured women and their contributions in agricultural development policy in general and value chains development programme in particular. Consequently, the existing gender mainstreaming in agricultural value chains has failed to effectively address the multitude of problems rural women face in agriculture. The patriarchal customary laws and traditional institutions biased against women are still prevailing in the study area.

This study identified three main reasons why gender mainstreaming in particularly dairy and vegetable value chains is important. First, in these commodities, women often play more roles than men in performing most of the activities at all levels of the value chain. Therefore, the inclusion of women in value chains would enhance the value chains' outcomes of the two commodities by upgrading them. Second, it promotes gender equality and women's empowerment when it involves deliberate interventions of supporting their participation in all important nodes of the value chains; otherwise, gender-blind value chain interventions could farther marginalize women than even conventional agriculture, as we have witnessed in this study. Third, in a country like Ethiopia, the alleviation of poverty is one of the main development policy objectives. The promotion of gender equality in agriculture value chains could contribute to alleviating poverty through increasing the economic outcomes of the value chains. This implies that gender-blind agriculture and value chain policies not only affect the lives of women in downplaying their economic, social and political empowerment, but also limit the development of the agricultural sector and its potential contributions to alleviating poverty. Therefore, gender discriminations and marginalization of women have affected the wellbeing of both women and the society in general.

The lack of sound gender analyses in value chain interventions has resulted in an ineffective outcome in addressing the real issues of women. In some instances it brought unintended disempowerment to women. This was revealed in the vegetable value chain intervention in Arsi where,

with the development of value chain, women lost the traditional status of owning and controlling dairy and vegetable sectors to men. This shows that the development of business- oriented agriculture value chains might not necessarily lead to greater gender equality if the intervention doesn't employ a gender-specific approach that targets the underlying gender gaps. Identifying gender gaps and promoting actions that enhance the capability of women will make the outcome of the value chain interventions more equitable to men and women.

The gender differences in managing and dominating certain value chains' node is mediated by unequal access to resources, productive inputs and support services and variations of the availability of time, the freedom of mobility and others socio-cultural barriers that often constrain the participation of women in certain activities.

This study found that the empowerment level of women in the study area is low. This is because first rural women have limited access to resources (physical, human and social resources) which in turn affect the economic, social, and political opportunities of women; second, though rural women have immense agency (motivation, sense of power within that enable them to alter existing situations), the capacity to exercise their agency is influenced by formal and informal institutions which can be explained as the manifestations of cultural norms, social practices, and customary laws; third, they have low level of achievement or wellbeing compared with men in many aspects for instance they usually work longer hours under no labour protections that safeguard their safety and wellbeing. Their decision-making power within the household and in their community is low. They earn and control lower-income and their self-esteem is not well developed to defend their right. The economic empowerment of women that could boost their bargaining power within the households and minimize their economic dependence on men and consequently help to build their self-confidence is constrained by their limited access to productive resources and other related social and institutional barriers.

In addition to the low level of economic empowerment, the system of rural organizations in the study areas has contributed to the low level of women's empowerment. This is because most rural organizations in their development interventions including the delivery of capacity development services mostly targeted the heads of the households of which men are the majority. The low level of literacy among rural women is also one of the limiting factors of women's empowerment in the study areas. Related to this, a low level of consciousness and limited exposure to the outside world as a result of the restriction of mobility also affected women's capability to exercise their agency and hence affected their empowerment.

Although there is generally limited women's empowerment at all levels (personal, close relations and collective levels), however from this study it was evinced that effective inclusion of women in agricultural value chains could improve women's access to productive resources, economic opportunities and boost their capability (skills, self-esteem) that enable them to exercise their agency to influence decisions in favour of their needs within the household and the wider public sphere. In addition to economic empowerment and the development of individual wellbeing, the participation of women in agricultural value chains has given women the opportunity to organize and form networks among themselves to share their common needs and interests and advocate their rights. This study concluded that rural women in Arsi are well aware of the fact that within the rural settings, they are still in unfavorable positions and they have not made as much progress as they would have expected. This could be a good sign of how, in the future, women's agencies and development of their leadership will contribute to emancipating them and transforming their status. But it is obvious that, at least for now, rural women are not in a position to take the lead in their own emancipation due to various complex socio-cultural and institutional factors that have hampered their empowerment. Therefore, the situation of rural women in the study area has thus far shown little progress. This is because rural women in the study area not only take the disadvantaged positions within the household and in the community, but they are also denied even most of the basic human rights due to excessive socio-cultural, religious, and institutional repressions.

8.6 Recommendations

Based on the finding of the study the following recommendations are made in addressing the critical importance of gender equality, employment, and women's empowerment in agricultural value chains.

- In addressing women's subordination, most development interventions including the agricultural value chain development programmes targeting rural women in Ethiopia need to focus on the strategic gender needs that could challenge existing culture, traditions, gender roles and institutions and thereby transform the existing power relations than only focusing on narrow practical gender needs strategies meant for material relief for survival or immediate use. The promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment could bring the real transformative change in women's lives through adopting strategies that address social, cultural, legal and political barriers women face in the society than their material acquisition.

- The tradition of state-controlled gender policy and women's organizations sustained in successive regimes of Ethiopian needs to be changed. Gender policies need to aim at the transformation of the existing economic, social and political situations of women and emancipating women genuinely than a means to control and serve the agenda of the ruling party. The researcher believes that if there has been a real commitment to emancipating women, government spending and various funding from local and international agencies targeting gender and development would have made a much more significant contribution to boosting gender equality and women's empowerment. Policies that aim to transform women's subordinations at all levels need to consider the problems that rural women face, women's real needs, rural household dynamics (gender division of labour, headship status, domestic burden), social institutions, and their effects on proposed gender policies and strategies.

- In addition to the potential market incentive opportunities available to everyone, gender mainstreaming in agricultural value chains require enabling strategies such as improving access to productive resources and market services, provisions of services, loans, subsidies, and capacity development that push the disadvantaged group of farmers, particularly women, to effectively integrate them within the programme and address the gender equity issues as well. These will improve women's equal participation in and benefit from the value chains.

- The roles of women of MHHs in agricultural production, processing, and marketing should not be overlooked in agriculture and rural development policy interventions. The tradition (trend) of the development interventions targeting household, headship has made the contributions of women of MHHs in agriculture production and marketing invisible. Therefore, gender mainstreaming in agricultural value chains must address the challenges women face and promote women's empowerment in both FHHs and MHHs. Related to this, the delivery of the general agriculture extension services which was mainly designed to target the heads of the households and failed to recognize the immense contributions of women in agricultural production and marketing within the households must be changed. Women need to be considered as active economic agents with their own gender-related needs, aspirations, and constraints in the delivery of agricultural extension and related services.

- As most of the vegetable and dairy production and marketing activities in both MHHs and FHHs are mainly performed by women, agricultural value chains development support programme/services such as improving access to productive inputs and services, facilitation of

membership in cooperative organizations, training on quality standards and norms and the delivery of other capacity development services must target women in both MHHs and FHHs.

- The roles of women in governing agriculture value chains in dairy and vegetables need to be promoted by placing more women in positions in executive committees so that women's specific gender concerns could be addressed and the balance of decision-making power within the value a chain is maintained.

- The disempowerment effects on women in the process of the commercialization of agriculture and value chains development needs to be addressed. Some development interventions including the promotion of value chains might have unintended effects on women that could further disempower them due to the unfavourable position women held in the society. Gender analysis on the effects of the intervention must be done thoroughly to foresee the effects it will have on men's and women's livelihoods and their wellbeing and the countermeasures and strategies required to reverse the situation of disempowerment effects.

- The promotion of women-led associations/organizations/ at the grassroots level in rural areas is essential in promoting gender equality and women's empowerment. These organizations may provide women with awareness creation on their rights, some skills, and training, access to networking, finances, legal services, and information on market and agricultural technologies. Moreover, this type of organization would help women to share ideas on their common needs and aspirations, and make women's voices heard in advocating for their rights and policy influence. Linking these organizations with the NGOs and donor organizations working on gender and development is vital in enhancing their capacity to execute the common agenda of women.

- Finally, the study proposes at least one issue as critically important for future research. In the course of the research process of this study, I came to realize that so far most gender or women related studies on agriculture and rural development failed to consider that married women (women in MHHs) are also farmers with their own needs, aspirations, agencies, and constraints in the household. Therefore future studies on the effects of agriculture and rural development policies and interventions on gender equality and women empowerment need to focus on exploring the effects on women in both MHHs and FHHs than simply comparing the effects based on the household headship status—MHHs versus FHHs—in which the situations of married women are neglected. Although in general terms, women in MHHs could be economically

empowered; they have less power to exercise their agency in controlling resources, using benefits and making a decision and hence they hold subordinate positions in the household. Exploring all these dynamics within the household require further research.

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Appendices

Check list for structured Interviews, informal interviews, focus group discussions and key-informant interviews

Part I. Structured interview to be administered to individual selected interviewees

1. Socio-economic characteristics of interviewed value chain actors

Name	sex	age	education level	marital status	family size	landholding (ha)	number of agricultural plots	religion group	type of activity in VC.	years of experience in agricul.

2. Out of total land holding what is the size of cultivated land ---------- hectare ?

3. Out of total cultivated land what is the size of land used for vegetable production?---------- hectare (for vegetable value chain participants)

4. Do you rent in any additional land for crop production/ dairy production/? 1= yes 2= no

4.1 If yes how much and why----------

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5. Do you rent out any portion of your farm land? 1= yes, 2= no

5.1 If yes how much and why----------

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6. Assessment of main crop produced in 2016/2017 cropping year

Type of crop produced	Area used for crop (ha)	Quantity produced in Quintal	Quantity sold in quintal	Price per 100kg /quintal		
				Maximum	Minimum	Average
Wheat						
Food barley						
Malt barley						
Faba bean						
Potato						
Carrot						
Onion						
Oil seeds						
Other						

7.Give the total amount of crop produced and sold in the last three production years

Year	Total produced in quintals	Price per quintal	Where did you sell mainly *
2015			
2016			
2017			

* The main market place 1= trader collectors, 2= nearest local market, 3= cooperative organization, 4= central market in Addis Ababa

8. What is the major source of family income? 1= grain production, 2= vegetable production, 3= livestock and dairy production, 4= dairy and other animal products

8.1 Do men and women equally benefit from income generated? Who owns income and decides on income use?--------

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9. What is the main source of labor on your farm? 1= family labor, 2= own labor, 3= hired labor,

10. Do you engage in any other off-farm activities to supplement your household income? 1= yes, 2= no

10.1. If yes state the activity you engage in ----------
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11. Household input and technological uses in the last production season

Household Name	**Sex**	**Improved seed use in kg**	**Fertilizer in kg**	**Herbicides litter**	**Pesticides litter**	**Loan earned in Birr**	**Access to mechanization yes/no**	**Improved Storage facility yes/no**	**Irrigation use in hac.**	**Dairy tech Yes/no**

11.1: Do you agree that women have equal access to the following productive inputs and supportive services as men? (these are the main obstacles to rural women's access to decent work)

	1.Strongly disagree	2.Disagree	3.Agree	4.Strongly agree
Land				
Fertilizer,				
Improved seeds				
Herbicides and fungicides				
Mechanization services				
Storage facilities				
Transportation services				
Market information and access				
Credit services				
Extension services and training				
Participation (voice in rural institutions, producers organizations)				

Gender and value chain analysis

11.1: Do female producer groups have equal access to services as male producer group A= yes, b= no, If not why?------
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11.2 Are services providers responsive to women's special needs and are they attentive to deliver gender sensitive services? A= yes, B= no. Explain why you say so?----------
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11.3 Are there any institutions which specialize in delivering financial services to women? A= yes, B= no ----------
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12. What are the roles of men and women working in specific value chain activity and its nature?

Value chain	Main women's role	Main men's role	Assessment of the nature of women's role (paid, temporary, unpaid)
Input supply			
Production			
Processing			
Transportation			
Trade and market			

12.1 Are there any segments where the presence of women is more important? Explain why it is more important --------
---

12.2 What values do you think women's involvement would add in each stage of value chain activities? ----------
---

12.3 How are women's contributions in value chain perceived at household level?----------
---

12.4 What is the sexual division of labor within the household (socially determined gender roles) or to be more specific what tasks are performed by women and men in the household? ----------
---
12.5 Who is mostly engaged in paid employment in the family? Man or woman? ----------
---------- if you say man, why does the woman not engage in paid employment? ----------
12.6 In what other activities of the household are you engaged other than farming? ----------
---
12.7. How many hours per day are you engaged in farming activities?----------
12.8 How many hours per day are you engaged in other household activities? ----------
13. Do you think that participating in value chain enhances your employment? 1= yes, 2= no. Explain how ----------
---
14. Do you agree that women's engagement in reproductive and other household activities could affect women's participation in productive decent work ? 1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= agree, 4= strongly agree
15. World-wide there is a common understanding that a gendered pay gap persists almost everywhere, with rural women earning significantly less than men for doing the same work. Is it the case in this value chain? A=yes, B= no,
15.1 What is your monthly income from participation in value chain? As producer, collector, trader, processor ----------
---
16. For what purpose do you mainly produce vegetable/dairy / A= market, B= family consumption, C= for both market and family consumption
16. Gendered participation in farm level

Activities by selected vc	Men	Women	Joint	Average daily hours woman spend	Average daily hours man spend
Dairy activities conducted					
Caring animal					
Cleaning house					
Feeding animal					
Milking					
Transporting milk					
Selling					
Reproductive activities					
Vegetable activities conducted					
Preparation of soil					
Planting					
Weeding					
Fertilizing					
Irrigating/watering					
Pest controlling /chemical spray/					
Harvesting					
Transporting					
Selling					
Reproductive activities / Other household activities					

16.1 What activities of value chain do you engage in affect your health and safety ?----------
---

-16.2 Do you agree that participating in value chain has enhanced your welfare?

1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= agree, 4 =strongly agree

- If you agree explain how it enhances your welfare ----------
  ---

17. What major household activities you do during seasons (calendar activities by gender)
Time use seasonal calendar

Season	Men's main activity	Main activities performed by women	Main activities performed by men	What technological aids to use to perform the activities
Spring (Tsedey)	September			
	October			
	November			
Summer (Bega)	December			
	January			
	February			
Autumn (Belg)	March			
	April			
	May			
Winter (Kiremt)	June			
	July			
	August			

18. Estimated time use survey by gender data will come from group interview

Time	Activities	Men	Women	
5 am-6 am				
6am-7 am				
7am-8 am				
8am- 9 am				
9am-10 a.m				
10am.11 am				
11am-12 pm				
12pm-1pm				
1pm-2pm				
2pm-3pm				
3pm-4 pm				
4pm-5 pm				
5pm-6pm				
6pm-7pm				
7pm-8pm				
8pm-9pm				
9pm-10pm				
10pm-11pm				
Time for sleep				

19. Assessment of women's participation in agribusiness value chain (for both vegetable and dairy value chains). This data can be found from each value chain district coordinating offices

Value chain segment	**Number of women**	**Number of men**
Input provision		
Production		
Processing and storage		

Service offering /cooperative		
Value chain governance		
Transportation		
Marketing		
Other		

Gender analysis at Meso level:- (this is analysis of women's position within the organizations (producers, processors, users and value chain internal governance)

20. What do you think are women's positions and roles within a). the producer organization?----------
---

-, (b)cooperative and marketing organization?----------

---c). value chain governance ?----------
---

21. As a woman do you actively participate in producer group, meeting, decision-making process and value chain governance ? A=yes, B= no If no, why not ----------
---

22. What specific constraints do you think that women face in decision making instances and power to influence the decision in value chain?----------
---

22.1 Identify who decides over the control and use of resources, sales and revenue in the household.

	Man	Woman	Jointly decided
Decision on what to produce			
Decision to sell off produce			
Decision on where to sell			
Control over revenue and earnings			
What and how much input to use			
Decision on to acquire loan and credit			
Responsible for management field/caw /			
Decision on women's participation in employment			
Decision on woman's movement from place to place			

(**Empowerment related interview)**

23. Do you think that gender roles are changing as a result of participation in value chain ? A= yes, B= no. If yes how and in what way? ----------
---

23.1 If the gender role is changing, does it contribute to household income increase? Explain how?----------
---

23.1.1 Does this have an impact on women's decision making and negotiating power? Explain how ----------
---

24. To what extent has participation in value chain contributed to the empowerment of women in terms of

i. economic empowerment- in terms of increase income controlled and used by women

……

ii. agency or ability to make decision on resource allocation and use ----------
---

iii. active participation in the organization----------
---

iv. capacity to manage the chain and use technology ----------
---
---

iv. ability to challenge social norms that held them back from benefiting off-farm opportunities ----------
---

25. Assess the extent of your participation on the following decisions (interview of women only)

	Always	Sometimes	Not at all
What to produce			
To join member of a given organization			
How much and what input and other technology like fertilizer, other chemicals and mechanization to use			
What volume of output to sell			
How to spend household earnings			
Decision to go for loan and credit			
Where to sell the produce			
Decision about off-farm employment or participation in paid employment			
Decision on movement			
Children schooling and health care for them			
Number of children to have			

25.1. Do you seek approval from your husband before taking a loan? A=yes, B=no. What to do with the loan?----------
---

25.2 Do you need approval of your husband to spend the money you earn from vegetable /dairy/ produce ?A= yes, B= no ----------

26. Assess women's empowerment at different levels on empowerment measure

26.1 Indicators of personal empowerment

Indicators of personal empowerment	Perception of individual woman on personal empowerment indicator			
	Certainly	Not sure	Not at all	
Ability to formulate and express ideas and opinions				
Ability to participate in and influence new action				
Ability to learn, analyse act				
Sense that things are possible				
Ability to control own time				
Ability to obtain and control resources				
Ability to interact outside the home				

26.2 Indicators of empowerment within the close relationship

Indicators of empowerment within close r/n ship	Perception of individual woman on close relation empowerment indicator			
	Certainly	Not sure	Not at all	
Control over child bearing				
Control over income				
Control over mobility				
Control over own time use				
Ability to attend meeting				
Capacity to make own choice				

26.3 Indicators of collective empowerment (this data can be gathered from group discussions)

Indicators of collective empowerment	Perception of individual woman on collective empowerment indicator			
	Certainly	Not sure	Not at all	
Ability to negotiate with other organizations including official bodies				
Ability to organize around own needs				

Recognition by outsiders, and ability to generate external support				
Ability to respond collectively to events outside group				
Claim on access to resources				
Ability to join and start new networks of organizations				

26.4 Rate the level of your empowerment capacity on the following
1= very low, 2= low, 3= medium 4= high, 5= very high

Empowerment measure	1	2	3	4	5
1. Sense of self-worth					
2.Know the right to have and determine my choice					
3.Know the right to have access to opportunities and resources					
4. Right to have the power to control my own life					
5.Decision-making power in the household					
6.Freedom of movement					
7.Voice and influence in collective/community/public					
8. Act independently in social, economic and political sphere					

27..Gender activity analysis for vegetable value chain

Activities	Who does the work		
	Men	women	Joint
Land preparation			
Planting			
Fertilizer application			
Weeding			
Pesticide application			
hoeing			
harvesting			
gathering			
transporting			
Selling			

28 Gender activity analysis for dairy value chain

Activities	Who does the work		
	Men	women	Joint
Preparing feeds			
Feeding animal			
Milking			
Cleaning stall			
Taking milk to market			
Selling			

29. What is your source of market information? 1= Extension officer, 2= group member, 3= neighbors / friends, 4=media, 5 other (specify) ----------

Gender differential in access to employment and decent work in agriculture value chain

30. Assess the perception of respondents on the assumption that value chain development can contribute to decent work by

30.1. creating equal opportunity for women and men? 1=yes 2= no

30.2. increasing incomes for men and women? 1= yes, 2= no

30.3 providing greater income security for both men and women? 1= yes, b= no

30.4 enhancing social integration (e.g. through dialogue, business membership organizations (BMO) and cooperatives) for both men and women? 1= yes, b= no
30.5 providing better prospects for professional development (e.g. learning new skills)? 1= yes, b= no
30.6 improving workplace safety and health (OSH) for both men and women? 1= yes, b= no

31. Do you agree that women have equal access to technology and services and other productivity incentives to male counterpart? 1=strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= agree, 4= strongly agree
32. Do you agree that the empowerment of women not only for the wellbeing of women in terms of personal empowerment, it also contributes to the growth of businesses, economies, and communities and family wellbeing? 1=strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= agree, 4= strongly agree

33. Identify change in economic empowerment as a result of participation in value chain in the last 3 years see

Change in type	2015	2016	2017
Productivity per hectare for vegetable value chain participant in quintals			
Average productivity of dairy produce per cow liter			
Income from horticulture or dairy (revenue)			
Fertilizer use			
Improved seeds use			

34. Women often lack the power and agency necessary to benefit from and have control over economic activities. In your view how do you see women's access to assets such as land, equipment, social network (social capital), as well as their access to services such as training and information, technology, inputs and finance ----------
---

34.1 How frequently you are visited by extension officers in a month? A=none, B=1, C=2, D=3, E=4, F=>4
35. Respondent perception on the extent of women's and men's participation in agricultural and other household activities

Activities performed	Extent of women's participation			Extent of men's participation		
	Regularly	Sometimes	Not at all	Regularly	Sometimes	Not at all
Food preparation and drinks (local beverages)						
Fuel wood collection						
House cleaning						
Looking after children and elders						
Fetching water						
Washing clothes						
Cleaning livestock shade						
Shopping for food items						
Milking cows						
Preparing animal feed						
Cow feeding						
Milk processing						
Land clearing						
Ploughing						
Hoeing						
Planting						
Weeding						
Harvesting						
Winnowing						
Gathering						
Transporting						
Selling products in the market						

36. How do you perceive gender equality in the following different scenarios?

Level or condition	Favour male	Favour female	Equal favour for both
Treatment of for boys and girls			
Gender equality at household level			
Gender equality at community or public sphere			
Access to land			
Property inheritance			
Employment opportunity			
Mobility			
Wage for the same job			
Access to inputs such as seeds, fertilizer			
Access to services extension, cooperative, veterinary services, micro finance			
Access to market information			
Access to new technologies			

37. How interviewed woman perceives her decision-making power in different activities and levels

	Lower than men	Equal with men	Higher than men	No power to decide at all
Income use				
Children schooling				
What to produce				
What to sell				
Where to sell				
Decision in the household				
Control of assets (land and capital)				
Participation and decision making in the community				
Advocating gender equality				

38.To what extent do you agree with the following scenarios?
1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3= undecided, 4= agree, 5= strongly agree

Scenarios	1	2	3	4	5
1.Economic empowerment will enhance women's agency/ capacity to decide on their own agenda					
2.Better educated women are in a better position to decide on their own					
3.Socio-cultural values and norms hamper women's empowerment					
4. Government policy measures will improve women's rights at household and community level					
5. Improved access to and control of assets enhance the power of women to decide					
6. Participation in value chain increases women's awareness of their rights					
7. Participation in value chain increases women's access to information					
8. Participation in value chain will increase awareness of technologies					
9. Women's access to employment and education opportunities will reduce the likelihood of household poverty					
10. Improved resources in women's hand have a positive outcome for the betterment within the household than resources in men's hand					

Dairy value chain specific interview

39. What type of dairy cows do you have A=local breed, B= hybrid cows, C= both
40. What are the main sources of animal feeds? ----------

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41. On average, how many liters of milk do you produce per day for each cow?----------
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42.Total dairy production and percentage of utilization of the dairy products by each interviewed household

Type of product	Total production liter/kg	Household consumption kg	Selling raw products kg	Traditional processing
Fresh milk				
Butter				
Cheese				
Cream				
Other products				

43. Where do you sell milk products A= local consumer/ neighbor, B= cooperative organization, C= collector center operated by processors, D= hotels or cafeteria
44. What major constraints are dairy producer women facing ?----------
---

44.1 Perceived constraints and associated factors in dairy value chain in participant's view

Constraints	Constraint level of severity				
	Not constraints	Low	Medium	High	Very high
Lack of animal feed					
Shortage of labour					
Lack of improved breeding					
Lack of information					
Lack of processing equipment and facilities					
Lack of transportation					
Lower support services /extension					
Problem of market /low price/					
Finance/lack of access to credit					
Low skill and technical knowledge in dairy management					
Poor veterinary services					

Vegetable value chain specific interview checklist

45. What is the main source of vegetable seeds?
A= own local seed, B= private providers, C= Research center, D=District agriculture office, E=local market, F= NGO

46. Actors' perception of constraints they face in vegetable -value chain

Constraints	Constraint level of severity				
	Not perceived as constraints	Low	Medium	High	Very high
Seed shortage					
Shortage of fertilizer					
Shortage of pesticides					
Shortage of labour					
Lack of capital					

Lack of skill					
Problem of diseases					
Insect problem					
Lack of proper storage facility					
Lack of transportation					
Lack of extension and support services					
Problem of quality /adulteration of inputs					
Lack of market information/Low price of produce					

Part II. Checklist for focus group discussion and key informant interviews

1. Discussion on agriculture and rural development policy bias against women in

a. technology generation and dissemination----------

b. infrastructure development that support women's activities (affordability and suitability of technology)----------

2. How are poor households in your district incorporated into, and how do they benefit from value chain?

1= through product markets as producers, 2= through labour markets as wage labourers, 3= through service markets as providers of services to the chain, 4= through other (specify)----------

3 Discuss the social objective of value chain development in economic growth to

i. translate into higher incomes for poor household, wage workers ----------

ii. create additional jobs for low skilled and unemployed poor and development of enterprise ----------

iii. include poor producers and labourers at favorable terms ----------

iv. Discussion on how value chain development should include the objective to minimize possible social drawbacks that exists in value chain upgrading ----------

4. The social status of entrepreneurs and wage workers in a value chain depends on their gender and wealth (as well as their age). Do you agree? ----------

5.Give and elaborate the gender mapping for the two value chains

i. Horticulture value chain
ii. Dairy value chain

6.What gender stereotypes affect women's participation in value chain in

i. ownership, control and managing of resources----------

ii. access to education, skilled based training----------

iii. mobility ----------

iv. independent access to credit ----------

v. bargaining power in market trade association and work place----------

-vi. entrepreneurial skill development for women in the value chain ----------

7. Discuss the extent to which existing laws and regulations adequately address gender-based discrimination----------

8. Do you think that women farmers have higher entry barriers than men in value chain? Discuss those barriers, if any ---

8.1. Small farmers particularly women farmers are excluded from high value crops. Why? ----------

8.2. Why are many women not members of cooperative organization like men where they can get many agricultural services?----------

9. Why are women concentrated in labour intensive activities in value chain ?----------

9.1. Women are concentrated as producers at the bottom of the chain. They can find it difficult to take on more profitable roles as buyers, sellers and processers? Why ?----------

10. Do you agree that increased participation of women in value chains will also influence household gender relations? If yes, explain how ?----------

11 Discuss social institutions' impact at different levels

i. At household level- or at family (micro) level on behaviours and attitudes towards gender relations

ii. At community (meso) level in specific beliefs or sanctioned practices, such as discrimination against widows, inheritance , eg. by preventing women from owning land, or by restricting a widow's inheritance rights ----------

iii. At a country (macro) level - in terms of broader social norms or laws which allow discrimination, such as discriminatory laws in relation to right to access resources, inheritance ----------

12. Describe socio-cultural factors and taboos that have reinforced involvement of women in the lower end of value chain----------

13. Gender relations are formed and constantly renegotiated and reconstructed. What are the historical directions of change in gender relations?----------

13.1 What aspects of local gender relations are currently relatively accepted and stable and what aspects of gender relations are changing?----------

13.2 What other social identities influence gender relation and how are gender relations shaped by these other social identities?----------

13.3 What are local values about gender roles, resource allocation and authority? (social analysis)----------

14. The relative bargaining power of women and men redefines cultural meanings. How are the bargaining power of men and women differently perceived in the area?----------

15. Assess the societal beliefs about women as economic actors, association members, beliefs about gender equal rights--

16. Discuss value chain upgrading strategies such as horizontal integration- horizontal contractualization and vertical integration –vertical contractualization ----------

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17. What favorable perceptions are there about women in relation to agricultural production, processing, and marketing?
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18. Do you think that men and women can equally benefit from participating in value chain?

i. in terms of access to natural capital such as access to suitable land, water , variety, etc.? ----------
---

ii.in terms of physical capital such as machinery, equipment and tools? ----------
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iii. in terms of human capital such as acquiring better knowledge and skills required for VC activities----------
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iv.in terms of social capital – improved linkage and network with buyers and service giving organization such as cooperative organization and small and microfinance organization that could assist asset building

19. Discuss how participation in value chain contributes to change in gender relations

i.in terms of gender division of labour----------
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ii. in terms of addressing intra-household gender-based constraints such as women's time poverty----------
---

iii.in terms of improving gender-based control and access to resources----------
---

iv.in terms of change in decision-making power at household and community level----------
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20. Discuss how participation in value chain can bring changes in social capital for both men and women ----------
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21. What market constraints are small farmers (particularly women) facing in the value chain?----------
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22. Identify the invisible roles of women in dairy/vegetable/ value chain----------
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Points of discussion with officials and development agents

1. What possible enabling value chain development strategies responsive to gender needs are available?----------
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2. How can poor producers benefit from the participation of formal markets (value chain)?----------
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